

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

REVERSE THE 'BAKKE' RULING

- Build October 3 & 8 protests
- Defend rights of women, minorities

On October 12 the U.S. Supreme Court will hear oral arguments in what has become the most important civil rights case since the 1954 decision outlawing school segregation.

The *Bakke* decision represents a major chal-

An editorial

lenge to the steps toward achieving equality won by Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women through affirmative-action programs.

As the court date nears, supporters of equal rights for oppressed nationalities and women have launched an emergency campaign of

teach-ins, rallies, and marches for October 3 and 8.

What is at stake in the *Bakke* case?

Allan Bakke, a white male, has filed suit against the University of California's Davis Medical School, challenging the constitutionality of its special-admissions program for students of oppressed nationalities.

Bakke claims the school's failure to admit him as a student is "reverse discrimination." The California Supreme Court has upheld this false charge.

The Carter administration has also thrown its weight behind Bakke and the enemies of equal rights, while trying to cover its tracks

with rhetoric about the rights of minorities and women.

The stakes are high in this battle. All supporters of affirmative action should make their voices heard loud and clear: "Reverse the *Bakke* decision!"

The first steps in mobilizing a response have already been taken. The National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision and other organizations have called for protests in cities across the country on October 3 and October 8. The *Militant* wholeheartedly endorses this emergency call and urges its readers in every city to join in building the anti-*Bakke* actions.

Continued on page 6



CHICAGO—Black students enter Stevenson School under police protection.

Militant/Suzanne Haig

Chicago bigots pushed back

But anti-Black violence continues

By Peter Seidman

CHICAGO—Cops moved racist picket lines across the street from where Black transfer students get off buses to enter Stevenson School September 13 after several days of anti-Black violence on the Southwest Side.

Although the courageous Black students no longer have to walk a gauntlet of jeering bigots, many Black motorists passing through the Southwest Side have been the target of continuing racist attacks.

The *Daily Defender*, a Black newspaper here, says that "to some people [the area is] more dangerous than driving through a minefield."

The police have also announced what they call other "get tough" mea-

sures against antibusing mob activity here. These include increased patrols, no-parking areas, and stepped-up enforcement of a city curfew barring people under seventeen from the streets after 10:30 p.m.

But outside Stevenson and some other Southwest Side schools, vile racist signs and epithets continue to greet the courageous young students when their buses pull into school.

Nevertheless, as of September 19, Black parents have signed up 853 of their children in the voluntary transfer program, compared with 610 at the opening of school. (Only 2,180 are eligible altogether.)

Following the violence here, pro-segregation forces blasted city authori-

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Socialist groups join forces at SWP convention

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FBI AGENT DENIES THE WHOLE THING: J. Wallace LaPrade, former head of the FBI's New Jersey operation, asserted to a federal court September 7 that he had had nothing to do with an investigation of a high school student who wrote to the Socialist Workers Party as part of a school project.

Lori Paton wrote to the SWP in 1973 for information. She was placed under surveillance shortly thereafter. Paton is suing the FBI.

LaPrade claimed he knew nothing of the investigation and asked to be dismissed as a defendant.

BRING BACK THE FB-111: Though the B-1 bomber was dead, did you? Guess again. The Air Force, trying to "salvage technology," wants to take sixty-five FB-111 fighters and equip them with B-1 engines, make them a little bigger, and presto! new long-range nuclear bombers.

Meanwhile, General Dynamics would be hard at work turning out another hundred or so FB-111s.

The cost? A drop in the bucket compared to the B-1—a mere \$7 billion. However, if the history of the plane is any guide, the final figure may come in a bit higher.

Originally tagged at \$4.5 million a copy, the actual cost of the FB-111 was \$15.6 million apiece.

Hit nurse frame-up

By Dean Denno

DETROIT—More than 200 people picketed the federal building here September 15 in support of Filipina Narciso and Leonora Perez, Filipina nurses victimized by an FBI frame-up. More than half were women and nearly half were Filipinos.

The picket line preceded a court session in which the two, convicted of poisoning patients at the Ann Arbor Veterans Administration hospital, were sent for ninety days of "observation" at a federal women's prison prior to sentencing.

The two women were convicted despite the absence of eyewitnesses or any evidence that could tie them directly to the deaths. Federal Judge Philip Pratt will hear arguments October 11 on granting a new trial. The Detroit Area Coalition to Free the VA Nurses—Narciso/Perez has planned a noon rally for that day in downtown Detroit's Kennedy Square.

INDIANS WANT THEIR LAND BACK: Russell Means, a leader of the American Indian Movement, told a September 2 news conference that the Sioux Indians want their homeland back—plus damages. Their homeland happens to consist of North and South Dakota, Nebraska, and parts of Montana and Wyoming. Means said the Indians also wanted \$30 billion for treaty violations and environmental damages, and \$1,000 "for gross violations of the Ten Commandments."

Meanwhile, a suit by two Indian tribes for title to 60 percent of the state of Maine is putting a damper on the sale of municipal bonds and on real estate speculation there. Seems no one wants to gamble that the federal government won't rule in the Indians' favor.

MURDERERS GET OFF THE HOOK: A New York State Supreme Court judge dropped indictments against ten youths who were charged with killing a Dominican student in a city park a year ago.

The ten swept through Washington Square Park with clubs and chains yelling, "All niggers out of the park," and attacking Blacks and Hispanics.

Fourteen people were injured.

TELL 'EM SANTA BROUGHT IT: A House subcommittee approved September 17 a Carter administration request to allow spies to make false public financial disclosure reports to protect their cover.

However, the spies would be required to make truthful reports that would be available only to a few top officials.

Filing false information would be allowed only if the president said it was necessary "for national security."

SCABS THREATEN TEACHERS' STRIKE: Striking teachers in the Mt. Diablo Unified School District, the tenth-largest district in California, have come under an unprecedented attack. In response to their strike, which began September 12, the district school board has hired 1,300 substitute teachers as scabs.

In cooperation with school districts across the state the board has hired scabs from as far away as Los Angeles. Scabs are being paid eighty dollars for the first day of work and sixty dollars every day thereafter.

Salary is a major issue in the strike. Mt. Diablo teachers, members of the Mt. Diablo Education Association, receive the lowest wages of all eighty San Francisco Bay Area school districts.

In a further effort to crush the strike the school board has obtained court injunctions limiting picketing and ordering the teachers back to work.

SENATE REFUSES SACCHARIN BAN: Ignoring the evidence linking saccharin to cancer, the U.S. Senate voted eighty-seven to seven September 15 to put off a ban on the artificial sweetener for at least eighteen months. The body also turned down a proposal to include cancer warnings in all saccharin advertising.

However, such warnings will be required on substances containing saccharin.

PROFESSORS WIN SEX DISCRIMINATION CASES: A former professor won an \$80,000 settlement from Southern Illinois University six years after filing charges of sex discrimination with the federal government. Dr. Marisa Canut-Amoros charged the school paid her between \$231 and \$359 a month less than men who did the same work. She also charged the school denied her summer work opportunities.

Meanwhile, three of four women professors who sued Brown University in Rhode Island for tenure won it in an out-of-court settlement. The agreement also set goals for Brown on hiring women faculty members.

HEARING IN CRYSTAL CITY GAS CASE: A three-judge panel of the Texas Court of Appeals in El Paso heard arguments September 20 in the legal fight between the Lo Vaca Gathering Company and Crystal City.

The utility has been trying to cut off Crystal City's gas because the Raza Unida administration there has refused to pay an exorbitant rate hike.

The cutoff had been slated for September 2, but Zavala County Judge José Angel Gutiérrez, a founding leader of the Crystal City Raza Unida Party, issued a writ prohibiting it. Gutiérrez acted after a Crystal City consumer filed a fraud suit against Lo Vaca in his court.

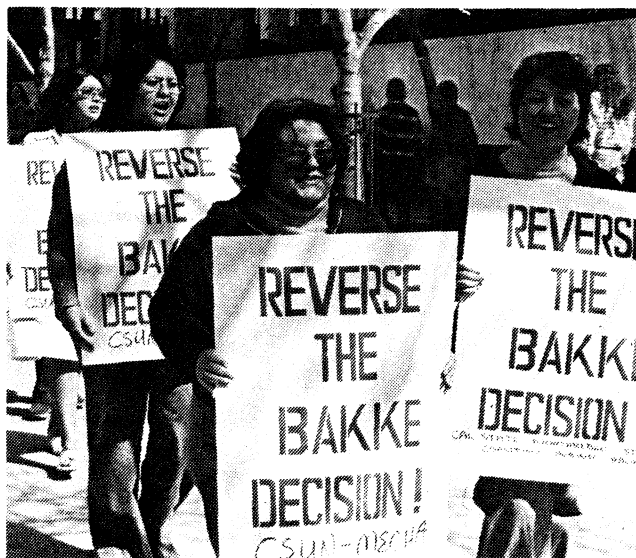
The September 20 hearing was on Lo Vaca's request to set the writ aside.

In a telephone interview, Judge Gutiérrez told the Militant that while it was "purely hypothetical," it was not precluded that if new evidence is presented to him in the consumer fraud suit he might issue a further prohibition against a gas shutoff until he has the opportunity to hear the case.

—Arnold Weissberg

Special offer to new readers.

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The fight to reverse the Bakke decision is a critical fight to preserve the gains won by the civil rights movement and the women's movement in the past fifteen years. Keep up with the struggle by reading the Militant every week.

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Support grows for meeting on 'la migra'

By Harry Ring

SAN ANTONIO—Broad new support is building for the antideportation conference to be held here October 28-30. Perhaps the most significant public figure to join in sponsoring the gathering is the Most Reverend Patricio Flores, bishop of the Catholic church for San Antonio.

In addition to endorsing the conference, which will mobilize public opposition to President Carter's proposed crackdown on undocumented immigrants, Bishop Flores will join other public figures in a forthcoming appeal for funds to defray conference expenses.

Bishop Flores has won wide public recognition for his support to progressive causes.

His support to the striking Farah workers in the early 1970s contributed



BISHOP PATRICIO FLORES

greatly to building the boycott of Farah products, which ultimately brought victory to the strikers.

Flores was an early supporter of the United Farm Workers. Woven in his clerical raiment is the Aztec eagle, traditional symbol of the farm workers.

Along with Bishop Flores, the sponsoring International Committee on Immigration and Public Policy announced an entire list of additional sponsors for the gathering. Support is building throughout the Southwest and in other areas of the country as well.

In Denver the conference has been endorsed by Rev. Joseph Lara, pastor of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church. Within the Catholic hierarchy Father Lara has been long regarded as a controversial figure because of his

support to Chicano causes.

Other Denver figures endorsing the conference include Sal Carpio, member of the Denver City Council, and Regis Groff, Colorado state senator.

Additional Denver endorsers include: Adolfo Gómez, director of Denver's Auraria Community Center; Maria Peña, director of the Southwest Action Center; Sam Sandos, a well-known public figure; Frieda Bugarín, director of the Platte Valley Action Center; and Silvia Zapata of the Student Coalition Against Racism.

In Boulder, the conference has been endorsed by the Chicano paper *El Diario de la Gente*.

On the West Coast, endorsements are coming in from throughout California.

Included are Manuel Montoya of San Francisco's Coalition for the Rights of Immigrants; the Coalition for the Rights of Immigrants; the Coalition for Fair Immigration Laws and Practices of San Jose; José Gonzales, a leader of the Raza Unida Party of Norwalk; Isabel Contreras, a planning commissioner in Upland; the José Jaques Medina Defense Committee of Los Angeles; Lehman Brightman of United Native Americans, Inc., of Berkeley; the state central committee of the Peace and Freedom Party; and Ernestina G. Garcia of La Confederación de la Raza Unida of San Jose.

In New York, the conference was endorsed by Lydia Tomasi, editor of *Migration Today*; and the Center for Migration Studies.

Additional endorsers include TACHE (Texas Association of Chicanos in Higher Education); Maria Rivera of the Puerto Rican Student Center at the University of Connecticut; Ricardo Parra, executive director of the Midwest Council for La Raza of Notre Dame, Indiana; and Ernesto Chacón of the Latin American Union for Civil Rights in Milwaukee.

In Texas itself, endorsements continue to come in, a committee spokesperson said. Among the most recent are:

Rev. J.L. Navarro, national chaplain of LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens); Nancy G. Alemán of the Hispanic Chamber of Commerce of Houston; Jane Markowitz of the American Civil Liberties Union of San Antonio; and Mujeres Unidas of Lubbock.

For further information about the conference, to add endorsers, or to send urgently needed contributions, contact the International Committee on Immigration and Public Policy at 1927 West Commerce Street, San Antonio, Texas 78807.

The committee's new phone numbers are: (512) 225-6773 and 227-1220.

Black leaders score murder of S. African

By Omari Musa

Anti-apartheid groups in the United States blasted the killing of South African student leader Steve Biko, honorary president of the Black People's Convention.

In a statement released to the press, American Committee on Africa President Judge William Booth said, "Biko is the 23rd political prisoner to die in the hands of South Africa's security police in the last 18 months. His death was the culmination of a long series of government arrests and bannings in an effort to neutralize his effective leadership of the black consciousness movement. . . . The suspicious circumstances surrounding his death suggest that this was yet another act of murder by the racist regime."

Referring to United Nations representative Andrew Young's statement that the South African regime is "illegitimate," Booth declared, "It is no longer enough to label the Vorster government 'illegitimate'. In homage to the memory of this leader in the struggle, we must act to fulfill that which the black consciousness movement in South Africa has called upon the world to do: to end the massive economic and political collaboration that the U.S. corporations and government are lending to the apartheid regime."

National Student Coalition Against Racism Coordinator Tony Austin scored the complicity of the U.S. government in Biko's death.

"Biko's death comes at a time when UN Ambassador Andrew Young has been traveling throughout Africa and Europe trying to persuade African freedom fighters to not fight for their freedom," Austin said. "A typical Andrew Young statement at the UN World Conference on Apartheid . . . was 'It is not necessary to kill the patient to cure the disease.'"

"But the facts show that the real killers and the real murderers are the racist South African regime and the U.S. economic, political, and military support that upholds it."

"We in NSCAR mourn the death of Steven Biko. . . . we call on all real partisans of human rights to rededicate their support for Black majority rule and demand that the U.S. end all aid and support to the murderous



Militant/Lou Howort

WILLIAM BOOTH



Militant/John Hawkins

TONY AUSTIN

apartheid regime now!"

The two groups joined several others September 20 in a silent protest at the South African mission to the United Nations.

In South Africa protests against Biko's death continue. For details see page 21.

Judge delays Florida execution

By Linda Thalman and Joe Kear

TALLAHASSEE, Fla.—Federal Judge William Stafford granted John Spinkellink an "indefinite stay of execution" here September 16, just fifty-three hours before Spinkellink was to die in the electric chair.

The delay holds good until all Spinkellink's appeals are exhausted.

At a September 21 hearing, Spinkellink's attorneys, from the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, argued that the death penalty is applied capriciously and in a discriminatory manner in Florida.

The attorneys pointed out that the death penalty is invoked when the victim of a crime is white but rarely when the victim is Black.

The NAACP attorneys plan to carry the appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, if necessary.

Picket lines around the state have hit Gov. Reubin Askew's September 12 decision to execute Spinkellink.

Seventy people picketed the Miami federal building September 17, de-

manding, "Stop legal lynching." The picket was called by Dade County Citizens Against the Death Penalty.

Askew had already been greeted by a hastily called picket line of thirty people when he came to Miami September 15 to receive a "Man of the Year" award.

Protesters gathered in front of the governor's mansion in Tallahassee September 18 with a huge banner reading, "Death row must go."

Sixteen death row prisoners held a one-day hunger strike to protest the death warrant.

Shirley Frye, an NAACP representative, called the execution a "racist scheme" to open the door to the execution of Blacks.

One Black death row prisoner told the *Miami Herald*, "When you say Spinkellink is going to die, you raise the hatchet over everyone on death row."

Florida has eighty-five prisoners on death row, more than any other state. Forty percent are Black.

Attend Chicano/Latino conference

- ☐ I endorse the National Chicano/Latino Conference on Immigration and Public Policy.
- ☐ Please send me more information on the conference.
- ☐ Enclosed is a donation of \$ _____. (Funds urgently needed.)

Name _____

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City, State & Zip _____

School/Organization _____

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...racists pushed back but violence continues

Continued from page 1

ties for encouraging the racists by failing to take a clear stand in support of busing. The same day that mobs roamed outside Stevenson, for example, Mayor Michael Bilandic had told a TV audience, "I don't think anyone could intelligently come to any conclusions about busing."

A front-page story in the *Chicago Daily News* reported on a public school board meeting the next night.

"Speakers from the Student Coalition Against Racism," the paper said, "blamed 'rampaging bigots' . . . and lack of action by the city for the violence on the Southwest Side. They said the governor should call out the National Guard to protect the students because the city hasn't done its job."

The *Chicago Sun-Times* quoted SCAR coordinator Saladin El-Tabuk as "referring to a 'lynch-like atmosphere' and 'racist savages' in the neighborhood." El-Tabuk said, "The city of Chicago has broken the law of the land for 23 years by failing to integrate schools."

The *Daily Defender* also highlighted SCAR's protest, publishing a page 3 photo of SCAR activist Cecil Lampkin addressing the school board and quoting other SCAR activists.

The participation of SCAR and other probusing forces at the school board meeting was a step forward in putting the racists, who have dominated these meetings in the past, on the political defensive.

The day after these protests, how-

ever, Mayor Bilandic stubbornly defended his stand on busing, again encouraging the racists. "I think everybody in the United States who is asked is opposed to mandatory busing," he said.

This statement drew harsh criticism from Operation PUSH leader Jesse Jackson. Bilandic has "incited the parents in the Bogan area to greater activity," Jackson said.

James Compton, executive director of the Chicago Urban League, also blasted Bilandic September 15. Compton criticized the mayor for not providing "more leadership."

On September 19, Clark Roberts, Midwestern regional director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, also

berated Bilandic, along with the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, "for failing to end racial segregation in the city school system."

These protests have so far held things to an uneasy standoff at the schools. But Southwest Side racists still boldly carry out attacks against Black passersby, including many Black workers who have no choice but to cross this area on the way to their jobs.

The *Daily Defender* reported September 14 that in the preceding three days, "more than eight Black motorists have been attacked by white mobs while driving through the racially troubled Bogan area. Many more may have gone unreported."

Interview with Black parent

'My children are just as good as theirs'

By Peter Seidman

CHICAGO—When parents at the predominantly Black Barton Elementary School were given a chance to enroll their children in Chicago's new voluntary transfer plan, the first two students on the list were nine-year-old Toyia and six-year-old Michelle Buckner.

I interviewed Toyia and Michelle's mother, Mrs. Marlene Buckner, September 19. She told me why she supported the new program.

"Overcrowding" was the main reason Buckner wanted her children to be transferred to the previously nearly all-white Stevenson Elementary School. "Toyia's a bright student," she said. "A fifth-grader, she's a year ahead of her age. But at Barton she was able to skip three days a week of school and still be ahead."

Michelle, a first-grader, has different needs, Buckner told me. "She is a quieter child who knows the work but won't volunteer. She's the type of child you have to pull the answer out of."

With seventy-three kids in Toyia's classroom last year, Buckner said, "there was no competition. She was getting bored. When they came out with the transfer, Toyia asked for it, because she's the type of child that needs a challenge."

And in Michelle's case, her teacher told Buckner that "the classroom is so crowded, I can just ask the kids who know to put their hands up and I'll test them. But Michelle wouldn't volunteer anything."

"You have to ask her," Buckner pointed out, "and with forty or fifty kids in the classroom, you really can't blame the teacher for not going to each child individually and testing them the way it's supposed to be."

At Stevenson, things are better. The smallest classroom holds twenty-seven and the largest thirty-one.

'I'm learning'

Toyia, Michelle, and the other Black transfer students from Barton love their new school, Buckner said. "I asked one girl what she likes about it, and she simply answered, 'I'm learning.'"

"That's important. They're learning, and they see it. My daughter never had social studies at Barton."

"The little boy across the street never had his own book. They shared books. One week he would get to take it home and the next week another child would get to take it home."

Toyia and Michelle had to pass through a gauntlet of anti-Black protesters during their first weeks in school. Now police have ordered desegregation foes across the street. But they are still picketing every morning as the transfer students get off the bus.

What did Buckner think about hav-

ing her kids face these bigots?

"Toyia wanted to learn. That's the only thing I really dealt with, the educational factor," she told me. "She's a bright child, and I'm not going to let anything hold her back."

"At Barton she was regressing instead of progressing, and I couldn't have that. I couldn't afford private school and I had no other alternative."

Buckner herself has been bused into Stevenson twice to attend PTA meet-



Militant/Suzanne Haig
Buckner each day at school.

ings (the school is located in an area where Black motorists have been the victims of frequent racist violence). She knows firsthand the kind of bigots who picket outside the school.

"They are not dealing with education or Black children at all," she said.

"They are dealing with houses. They have this impression that Blacks do not pay taxes, and that we want their houses. My house is assessed for \$40,000. I have no inclination to go over there and take their house away from them."

"Most of the families whose kids are being bused to Stevenson already own their own houses."

"Bogan-area bigots have this impression that these schools are *their* schools," Buckner said, "not the city's, not the board of education's—but the Bogan community's. They think we have no right to be out there, that if our schools are overcrowded, that's our business, our kids. You know, it's just tough."

"I heard one mother tell another at a PTA meeting," she continued, "how she told her children, 'You have to watch those Black kids, because you

might be raped.' This is the type of thing our children are being subjected to."

Not all go along

"But I don't think a majority out there go along with what the racists are doing," Buckner told me.

She described one white woman who explained to her how "she walked the picket line three days. Then she got up one morning and she said, 'I don't believe in this. I went to church and asked God to forgive me for the things I shouted at the children, because I was only doing what I thought my friends wanted me to do.'"

This atmosphere of intimidation, Buckner said, is fostered by antibusing demonstrators who don't have kids in the schools.

"The first day of school, a man spit on Jesse Jackson," Buckner said angrily. "This man lived nowhere near the school area. But he actually got up at eight o'clock in the morning to come over here to spit!"

'Call out the guard'

Buckner thinks these anti-Black pickets "should be moved *totally* away from the school."

It was demands by Operation PUSH, Buckner believes, that have made it "a little better than it was at the opening of school."

"I really think they should call out the guard," Buckner told me. "I think it's at that point. It's been three weeks and the pickets are still there. And I don't think those people are going to give up."

Buckner is also concerned about students at nearby Bogan High, who get out of school between two-fifteen and two-thirty.

Last week a mob of these students gathered outside Stevenson, threatening the grade-school transfer students as they were going home.

"But it's not just on the Southwest Side," Buckner said. "There are incidents now where whites are actually coming into nearby Black neighborhoods and threatening racist violence."

"My girlfriend," Buckner related, "was at McDonald's on Seventy-ninth about two weeks ago. It was ten-thirty at night. White racist hooligans came up in two vans and two cars."

"Last summer we would sit on our porch and they would come into our neighborhood and we would be called 'niggers' and other things."

And, of course, there's the longstanding problem of Blacks being attacked while driving through the Southwest Side.

"There are a lot of Black jobs out there," Buckner explained. "There's Nabisco. There's Sweetheart Cup. There's the post office."

"I worked at the post office last

Christmas. If I didn't have a ride, I wouldn't go to work."

"I've been told there are about 3,000 city workers—most of them police—who live on the Southwest Side."

"Most of them believe in the same things these racist pickets are over there picketing for."

"So why," she asked, "should I have confidence that they'll arrest people who are doing what they themselves believe in?"

Buckner thinks that "eventually" Blacks and their supporters will have to demonstrate to make their demands for protection and equal education known.

She believes that "a lot of Black people who were never interested before in the movement" will participate because "when it comes to messing with a child, that's the breaking point."

Whose neighborhood school?

Buckner also exposed claims by antibusing demonstrators that they are only protecting their right to "neighborhood schools."

Stevenson and two other grammar schools in a nearby five-block area, she pointed out, are actually the nearest "neighborhood schools" for many Black students now in the Barton School area!

"A lot of the kids who go to Barton," she said, "have to take a Chicago Transit Authority bus to get there, or their parents have to pay an outside bus company to bring them over—because in the winter, it's too long of a walk from their house. So now, Blacks are really bused to their own neighborhood schools."

I asked Buckner who the Black transfer students and their parents see as allies in their fight. "PUSH. The NAACP. The Urban League," she answered.

And last of all, "the students. I think they are fantastic."

Buckner told me that the white parents at a PTA meeting she attended were particularly upset about the Chicago Student Coalition Against Racism.

"They said that SCAR is nothing but agitators," she said. "They advised the Black parents that we shouldn't deal with SCAR because it was a lot of Jews looking for trouble."

"These white parents never dealt with any educational issues. Everything but. They are sick. The students have been fantastic."

The twenty-eight-year-old mother told me, "I don't know, maybe I'm militant. But it makes me more determined."

"My children are just as good as theirs. And I want them to have the best."

Seven-year-old is mob's first victim

By Peter Seidman

CHICAGO—Mellaine Turner died September 13 repeating the racist words of antibusing protesters she heard that morning outside her school. It was Mellaine's fifth and last day as a Black second-grade student at the predominantly white Stevenson School. She was a participant in Chicago's voluntary student transfer plan.

Mellaine died of an infection complicated by sickle-cell anemia, but in her delirious mumbling just before she died, it was clear that she was also the victim of a diseased, racist society.

"Go back . . . go back . . . go back where you belong," the seven-year-old said, echoing a favorite taunt of the antibusing mob that jeered Mellaine and eighty-three other Black transfer students that morning outside Stevenson.

These protesters blocked traffic, delaying the arrival of Mellaine's bus about fifteen minutes.

When the students got off the bus, they had to walk past a gauntlet of screaming bigots, as a line of police formed a protective corridor.

Throughout the day, racist motorists honked their horns as they drove past the school. A city garbage truck driver

added his horn to the noise, while others on his crew cheered the protesters.

Doctors at a news conference called



MELLAINE TURNER

by Operation PUSH, a Black community organization here, said an emotional trauma caused by the fear Mellaine encountered at school could have caused her death. But, said Dr. Andrew Thomas, medical chairperson of Operation PUSH, "I don't think the emo-

tional factor was a major thing."

At funeral services for Mellaine held September 16, Operation PUSH leader Jesse Jackson saluted the child's courage as a "splendid example."

Although frightened, Mellaine knew who she was in the voluntary plan, Jackson told more than 200 people in attendance. "It had to do with lack of books, crowded classrooms. She knew this and so accepted the risks. She knew her parents had made the best decision for her education."

Mellaine "made us proud," Jackson said.

The determination of Mellaine's parents, Joe and Helen Turner, to enroll her in the voluntary busing program highlights the deep conviction in Chicago's Black community that even the most limited desegregation program is worth defending.

Last year Mellaine attended the Clara Barton School on the South Side. The Barton School was built in 1927 and is described as "critically overcrowded" by the *Chicago Defender*, a Black community daily.

Designed to accommodate 1,200 students, Barton's enrollment this year is 1,550 (down from a peak of 1,800 before busing and other relief measures). This

means horribly overcrowded conditions.

Visitors need to walk through a classroom, for example, to get into the head teacher's office. One team-teaching class held sixty-three students in an open area overseen by two teachers. The school has had to use overflow space in nearby buildings for the past several years.

It was to alleviate these conditions for Barton's largely Black and Latin students that the school was slated for the voluntary transfer plan.

Ninety Barton students are eligible to be bused into the almost all-white Stevenson School.

Built in 1954 to handle 700 students, Stevenson's enrollment last year was 650. The school is located in the Bogan High School area, and has been the focal point of antibusing protests this year. Classes there are getting smaller each year. Even with this year's 90 transfer students, enrollment at Stevenson is still only about 680.

But for the antibusing bigots whose racist taunts formed Mellaine Turner's dying words, even this modest step toward equalizing education for Chicago's Black schoolchildren was too much.

'We have to get hot under the collar'

By Jo Della-Giustina

CHICAGO—"With the escalation of savage racist violence, the situation in this city has escalated into a lynch-law atmosphere," Saladin El-Tabuk told the 125 activists at a meeting of the Chicago Student Coalition Against Racism.

Tabuk, a coordinator of Chicago SCAR, accused the city government of "burying its collective head in the sand. That's why there's a need to get into action, defending Black rights and ensuring that no Black child is harmed."

Three days before the September 16 SCAR meeting, anti-Black opponents of school desegregation here claimed their first victim—seven-year-old Mellaine Turner.

The meeting opened with a moment of silence for Turner, and heard Marie Anderson, a Black auto worker and antiracist activist, explain how Turner died from an infection complicated by sickle-cell anemia after being subjected to racist taunts outside school (see story on this page).

The 125 activists at the meeting sent

the following message to Turner's parents:

"We are discussing ways in which we can fight back against the racists whose ugly taunts the courageous children at Stevenson School have been forced to endure . . . we will press forward in their struggles against racist violence and forced school segregation."

This discussion was kicked off with a talk by Mac Warren, coordinator of Boston SCAR in 1974-75, during the height of the school segregation struggle there.

Earlier in the day, Warren spoke at a meeting at Kennedy-King College on Chicago's South Side.

Warren was also interviewed by two radio stations and the *Daily Defender*, Chicago's largest Black newspaper.

In explaining the current situation in Chicago, Andrew Pulley, a Black steelworker and former SCAR coordinator here, said, "The racists succeeded in scrapping the first attempts to implement a transfer plan fourteen years ago. We can't permit them to be successful again."

"Although the voluntary transfer plan is very limited, it is still the target of the racists' war against Black rights. There's a need for Black people to act, to go into the streets."

Pulley urged the audience to reject the idea, raised by an editorial in the *Daily Defender*, of "cooling it."

"This strategy," he said, "has been tried for the last ten years. During that time the gains made by the freedom struggles of the 1960s have been chipped away. Faced with the anti-Black violence, the anti-Black U.S. Supreme Court, and the president and Congress, we have got to get hot under the collar. We must hit the streets again."

Pulley went on to say that "the most effective way to protect the transfer students is to create an atmosphere where city officials feel forced to provide that protection."

"We must build a movement to demand protection for Black students. If the cops won't do it, then the National Guard and federal troops should be called in."



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Chicago SCAR meeting discussed defending Black schoolchildren.

Chi. steelworkers blast racist violence

The following resolution "In Support of Peaceful Desegregation" is being submitted by United Steelworkers Local 1033 at Republic Steel in Chicago to the October 14-15 District 31 steelworkers conference.

Whereas, there have been threats of violence and obstruction by Nazi elements and racist gangs against Black children taking part in the voluntary transfer program of the board of education, and,

Whereas, the right to a good quality education is a right that all children, white and Black, should be able to enjoy without intimidation or fear,

Be it therefore resolved, that Local 1033 calls upon Mayor [Michael] Bilandic, [Police] Superintendent [James] Rochford, and the respective aldermen to move vigorously to provide full protection to those taking

part in the school transfer program and take firm action against those promoting violence and race hatred, and,

Be it further resolved, that we, of Local 1033, offer the services of our local union to the board of education, and state our readiness to work with all groups seeking to bring about higher quality education for all Chicago schoolchildren.

On September 14, United Steelworkers Local 65 at U.S. Steel's South Works approved the following message to Chicago Superintendent of Schools Joseph Hannon.

Whereas, we, as concerned members of Local 65 United Steelworkers of America, and as parents of children who attend the public school system of Chicago, are deeply concerned about their physical welfare during this experimental busing

program, and

Whereas, we have strong feelings concerning the quality of our children's education and their skills developed in school, and the necessity for them to learn and grow in a peaceful atmosphere.

Therefore be it resolved, that we, the members of Local 65 United Steelworkers of America, endorse and support the busing program for the benefit of our students and add that the safety of our children should be of prime importance as well as the quality of education.

The following are excerpts from statements sent to the September 16 meeting of the Student Coalition Against Racism.

Randy Potts, chairperson, civil rights committee, Local 65 USWA: Since it is labor of steelworkers of all nationalities that

creates the very structures for the schools of Chicago, and since it is the tax dollars of workers of all nationalities . . . that finance the educational system here in Chicago, we demand that the police, National Guard, and whatever government agencies are necessary, be put at the disposal of the Black children seeking equality in education.

STRUTS (Stop The Rampage of Unfair Treatment at South-works): Just as we fight against injustices against Black steelworkers at U.S. Steel at South Works, we stand with all those who fight against the cruel injustices against Black children seeking quality in education.

We demand that all those who threaten and intimidate Black children be prosecuted, and that anyone on the public payroll who stands in the way of equal education be fired!

...reverse the 'Bakke' ruling

Continued from front page

A united, national response to *Bakke* is crucial—especially in light of the Carter administration's efforts to sow confusion and distort the real issues in this case.

On September 19 the text of the Justice Department's court brief on *Bakke* was released. Under the mounting pressure of nationwide protest, the Carter administration has backed away from filing a brief in outright support of Bakke's phony "reverse discrimination" argument. The brief says that "it is permissible to make minority-sensitive decisions" in admissions.

But the final version of the brief sidesteps the central issue in dispute—*quotas* to enforce affirmative action in hiring and education for Blacks, Chicanos, other oppressed minorities, and women. The brief recommends that the Supreme Court not rule on this specific issue.

Meanwhile, the real position of the Carter administration has been spelled out by Attorney General Griffin Bell. Bell claimed September 19 that the Carter administration supports affirmative action. But, he said, there is "a line between goals and quotas, and when you cross the line, we would oppose quotas."

The truth is that there is no way to achieve equality in education and jobs for oppressed nationalities or women, without quotas.

The facts of what is happening to affirmative-action gains under the blows of the economic crisis tell the story:

- Black unemployment has risen to an

official rate of 14.5 percent—more than twice as high as the jobless rate for whites.

- Since 1973, women have lost a full 10 percent of the jobs in heavy industry they won through affirmative-action programs. This has been reflected in the decline in union membership, the first in fifteen years. Four hundred thousand of the 767,000 workers no longer in unions are women, a drop that is disproportionately higher than the number of women in unions.

These statistics underscore the fact that affirmative action and the *Bakke* case are burning issues for the labor movement. The majority of the work force today, in fact, is made up of women, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and youth.

If the Supreme Court upholds the *Bakke* decision, it will give employers and university administrators a green light to gut existing affirmative-action plans and intensify their attacks on equal rights.

The rulers of this country will use *Bakke* to deepen the race and sex divisions in the work force and weaken the labor movement as a whole. The unions can counter this divide-and-rule strategy by aggressively coming to the defense of the most exploited workers in their ranks.

The same mass pressure that forced the government to institute some affirmative-action programs in the late 1960s and early 1970s can force the Supreme Court to reverse *Bakke*.

Since the call for the October actions was issued, impressive support has begun to mount on the campuses, in the Black and Chicano communities, among women, and in the labor movement.

Student organizations such as the National Student Coalition Against Racism, Black American Law Students Association, ME-ChAs, and campus feminist groups can play an important role in spearheading this drive and reaching out to broader social forces.

The need to involve women's liberation groups has been emphasized by Karen DeCrow, former president of the National Organization for Women.

The potential for union support is shown by the broad labor endorsement for the October 8 march scheduled in the Bay Area. Locals of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, American Federation of Teachers, Services Employees International Union, and others have endorsed, as well as the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

In the short time remaining, supporters of affirmative action need to mount an all-out campaign to get the widest possible backing for the October 3 and 8 actions. These actions can help get out the truth about *Bakke* and let the U.S. Supreme Court—and the Carter administration—know where civil rights supporters stand.

Overturn the *Bakke* decision!

All out October 3 and 8!

All out for October 3 & 8

Support builds for anti-'Bakke' protests

By Omari Musa

Momentum is gathering among Blacks, Chicanos, students, women, and labor for the October 3 and 8 protests against the *Bakke* decision.

The National Committee to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision is one of the groups coordinating the two national days of actions. It is composed of a broad range of organizations including the Black American Law Students Association (BALSA).

The National Student Coalition Against Racism is collaborating closely with the National Committee and BALSA to organize the protests.

October 3 will be a day of national student protests on campuses across the country. October 8 is slated as a day of national protests in more than twenty cities.

The demands of the actions are:

- Overturn the *Bakke* decision.
- Implement, maintain, and expand special admissions and other essential services for minority students at undergraduate and graduate schools.
- Implement, maintain, and expand

affirmative-action programs in employment.

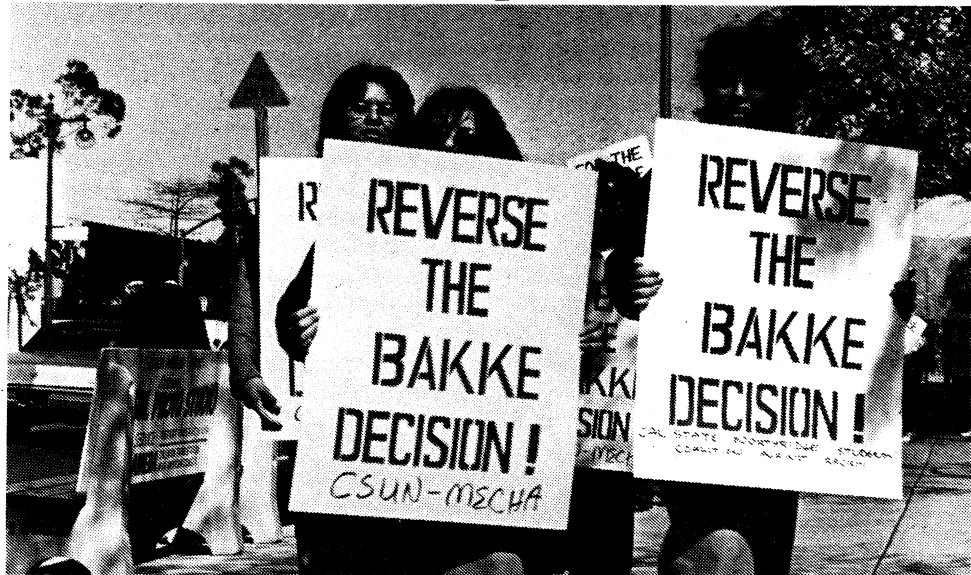
Among the endorsers of the call are the National Conference of Black Lawyers; La Raza National Lawyers Association; Union of Democratic Filipinos; National Lawyers Guild; Black American Law Students Association; American Indian Association; Asian Law Caucus; and Howard University Student Government Association.

The actions are gathering momentum in the following cities:

Oakland, California—The National Committee to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision initiated an October 8 Coalition here to organize the national days of protest.

The coalition is planning a march and rally in East Oakland. The demonstration will assemble in Sanborn Park on October 8 at 11:00 a.m., and march to San Antonio Park for an afternoon rally.

Speakers at the rally include University of California sociology professor Harry Edwards; Elaine Brown of the Black Panther Party; Rep. Edward



Roybal (D-Calif.), representing the Hispanic Congressional Caucus; Indian activist Lee Brightman; Alameda county supervisor John George; East Oakland community activist Gilbert Mendoza; and Aileen Hernández, a past president of the National Organization for Women.

A representative of the National Committee to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision will also speak.

The rally is receiving broad endorsement from the labor movement in the Bay Area.

Included are American Federation of Teachers Locals 1423 and 1528; International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 10; Service Employees International Union Locals 390, 616, and 400; and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Locals 1695 and 1605.

The Black American Law Students Association and the October 8 Coalition are also planning a picket line and rally at the federal court building in San Francisco October 3. It will begin at noon.

Washington, D.C.—The local affiliate of the National Committee to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision is organizing a demonstration October 8.

Protesters will assemble at Lafayette Park across from the White House at 11:00 a.m. They will march to the Supreme Court building and then hold a rally on the U.S. Capitol grounds.

BALSA chapters in the D.C. area are organizing a march and rally October 3. It will follow the same route as the October 8 demonstration, assembling at Lafayette Park at 11:00 a.m.

Seattle—The Seattle Committee to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision has scheduled an October 8 march beginning at noon at the federal court building. From there the demonstration will go to Occidental Park for a rally. The Washington Education Association is helping to organize the protest.

The committee is also sponsoring a speak-out at the University of Washington on October 5.

The forerunner of *Bakke* took place at that university several years ago when Marco DeFunis took the law school to court. DeFunis claimed a special minority admissions program "discriminated" against him.

The Supreme Court was able to duck the case when the university law school admitted him.

DeFunis is a signer of the brief

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NSCAR sets strategy meeting

The National Student Coalition Against Racism is sponsoring a "National Student Anti-Racist Strategy Meeting" in New York City October 14-16.

According to NSCAR staff coordinator James Harris, "The purpose of the meeting is to assess where the antiracist movement stands today and what strategy is needed to fight back against racist attacks.

"Students are in the forefront of the battle to overturn the *Bakke* case, for Black majority rule in southern Africa, for school desegregation, and against the racist deportations of our sisters and brothers without immigration papers.

"Our job is to figure out how to get more students involved and reach out to others."

A kickoff rally focusing on the *Bakke* case is scheduled for 7:00 p.m. October 14.

The afternoon session on October 15 features workshops on the *Bakke* case, South Africa, school desegregation, and the October 28-30 Chicano/Latino Conference on Immigration and Public Policy in San Antonio.

Plans for a national SCAR conference in the spring will also be discussed.

The last session, October 16, is devoted to organizing SCAR chapters.

For further information write: NSCAR, 220 Fifth Avenue, Room 808, New York, New York 10001. Phone: (212) 686-7020.

—O.M.

Denver NOW activists' speak-out a success

By Sue Adley

DENVER—One hundred people attended a speak-out on "Defending Women's Rights" here September 15 sponsored by the National Organization for Women.

Topics on the program included Chicanas' fight for abortion rights and against sterilization abuse, affirmative action and the myth of reverse discrimination, child care, and lesbian rights.

The meeting succeeded in attracting a number of women not affiliated with NOW, including a dozen or more women of oppressed nationalities.

"We're going to give a feminist welcome to Representative [Henry] Hyde when he comes to town next Saturday," said rally chair Fran Day to a big round of applause. Hyde, author of the congressional amendment barring Medicaid funds for abortion, will speak as guest of honor at a fund raiser for the Colorado Right to Life Committee on September 24.

Deborah Tucker, president of the Urban League Guild of Metropolitan Denver, addressed her remarks to the importance of the *Bakke* case for women, Blacks, Chicanos, and all oppressed nationalities. Soon to be heard by the U.S. Supreme Court, the case challenges the whole concept of affirmative action, arguing it is "reverse discrimination."

"Just imagine Bakke as a child with high hopes of becoming a doctor," Tucker hypothesized. "Can you imagine his school bus getting bombed

and stoned so he couldn't get into a 'qualified' elementary school? Can you imagine him being escorted by police to protect him from violent, hostile adults who are spitting on him? . . .

"If by chance he outlives this and manages to graduate from high school . . . can you imagine him going to a qualified college and being blocked by the state governor himself? . . .

"I figure if you can imagine this for Bakke, you have imagined reverse discrimination."

Irene Blea Gutiérrez, an organizer of the 1977 Boulder Chicana conference, warned that the Hyde amendment "will mean that Chicanas and other minority women will have to go back to back-alley and racketeer-type abortions, and perhaps to self-induced abortions."

"It will mean that minority women will be maimed and sometimes killed in the process of trying to secure these abortions."

Marilee Taylor, a member of NOW at the Auraria Higher Education Complex, spoke of the need for NOW to reach out to forces that support the goals and demands of the women's movement.

'Join NOW'

"I urge everyone to join the fight for women's rights," she said. "Join the National Organization for Women."

The speak-out was the project of a number of NOW members at the Auraria campus where the meeting was held. It was cosponsored by the East Metro-Denver chapter of NOW.

In the two weeks preceding the event, twenty-five women on campus signed up for further information on NOW. Another twelve women at the speak-out itself indicated interest in joining NOW.

Unfortunately, a sour note was introduced into the speak-out. The incident stemmed from a news conference held to publicize the event a few days before. All the scheduled speak-out participants were invited to attend.

During the question-and-answer period, some reporters began probing for evidence of "infighting" within NOW.

The term "infighting" is "completely incorrect," responded Marilee Taylor, who chaired the news conference. "We are having a democratic discussion in NOW, which is the best way to arrive at decisions."

Taylor was referring to an ongoing discussion within NOW over the most effective way to fight for women's



Speak-out attracted campus feminists interested in joining NOW

rights. Some members believe lobbying and working to elect "friendly" Democratic and Republican politicians is the primary orientation NOW should have. Others have argued for relying on the independent power of women themselves, through mobilizations to demand equal rights.

Despite efforts to redirect the news conference discussion back to the speak-out, some reports seemed bent on "discovering" friction within NOW.

Distorted press report

The next day's *Rocky Mountain News* distorted the purpose of both the news conference and the speak-out, claiming the speak-out had been "prompted" by "mounting dissatisfaction with the leadership of the National Organization for Women."

At the speak-out itself, Colorado state NOW coordinator Peg Ackerman departed from her scheduled topic, "Why NOW supports lesbian rights." Ackerman, who had not been at the news conference, said at one point that in her opinion demonstrations are not always as effective as letter writing and lobbying.

Then she proceeded to charge members of the Socialist Workers Party with disrupting the activities of NOW and with not having feminism as their primary concern.

In the short time that was left for discussion at the meeting, several women objected to Ackerman's remarks.

One woman said Ackerman should not label everyone who disagrees with her as a "socialist." By dismissing dissent in this way, she said, it could

cut NOW off from a lot of women.

Tucker, who had participated in the news conference representing the Urban League Guild, pointed out that "it was the reporter who brought up the dissatisfaction with national NOW leadership. It was not the local chapter. It was no one here. . . .

"That story that reporter did was on her own. . . . That is the perfect example of media bias."

Taylor, who is also a member of the SWP, reminded everyone that NOW has a nonexclusionary policy. According to its bylaws, NOW is open to all women regardless of their political affiliation. She urged that free and open democratic discussion within NOW be encouraged.

Ackerman did not respond to Tucker's facts, and she denied she was trying to "label" people. "I'm trying to point out that we have a problem within this organization," she said. "The problem is occurring here in Denver. It's occurring in other places—in Atlanta, in Boston, and in New Orleans."

Ackerman went on to charge—without any substantiation—that there had been attempts "to run chapters" and to "force some of the white, more affluent middle-class women out of chapters."

"This has been directly traceable to people who belong to the Socialist Workers Party," she said. "Arlie Scott [a national vice-president of NOW] said that to the *Rocky Mountain News*, and I hope they will print it tomorrow."

More rejoinders came from the floor

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URBAN LEAGUE'S DEBORAH TUCKER: Scored distortions in press as example of 'media bias.'

Supports 'Bakke' protests

NY NOW defends abortion, urges IWY actions

By Ellen Harris

PLAINVIEW, N.Y.—"The most important thing we can talk about today is the *Bakke* case," Karen DeCrow told the September 16-18 New York State conference of the National Organization for Women. De Crow is the past national president of NOW.

In her keynote address to the 200 NOW members assembled, DeCrow criticized the Carter administration's friend-of-the-court brief on the side of Allan Bakke and against affirmative action quotas. To reverse the *Bakke* decision, she said, "we must rely on our own militancy."

In a conference workshop on employment, Dee Alpert, NOW's national coordinator for compliance/employment, stressed the importance of feminists joining in the October 8 protests planned nationwide against the *Bakke* decision.

The conference voted unanimously in favor of a *Bakke* resolution jointly

sponsored by the minority women's, employment rights, and campus workshops. The resolution warned that educational and job opportunities for women and minorities will suffer a severe setback if the Supreme Court upholds the *Bakke* decision. It also called on local NOW chapters to participate in *Bakke* protest activities.

One of New York State NOW's activities will be to circulate petitions—the conference called them "Bakkegrams"—calling on the Supreme Court to reverse lower court decisions in favor of Bakke.

In another resolution, the conference reaffirmed NOW's unconditional support to all women's right to abortion, "regardless of age, economic, or marital status." The resolution demanded that New York Gov. Hugh Carey continue to make state funds available for abortions. It also underscored NOW's opposition to all forms of the Hyde amendment, the bill in Congress that

would cut off federal Medicaid funds for abortions.

In the context of the discussion on women's right to control their own bodies, a resolution on sterilization abuse assumed special significance. A large majority of the conference voted to put New York State NOW on record in support of a thirty-day waiting period between the signing of a consent form for sterilization, written in the women's preferred language, and the actual operation.

Such a safeguard is needed, the resolution stated, "because we live in a society in which coercion of women, particularly poor and minority women, with regard to sterilization is a reality."

Supporters of this resolution argued that the thirty-day waiting period was designed to protect a women's right to control her body, to put a brake on sterilization abuse.

"Antiabortion forces have lined up behind the Hyde amendment," said

Claire Moriarty from New York City, "because it limits the right of some women—poor and minority women—to control their bodies; it limits their right to choose. The same forces that oppose abortion rights for poor and minority women oppose a waiting period before sterilization—and for the same reason. They want to limit the right to choose, particularly for poor and minority women."

Women at the state conference also voted to recommend that the NOW national board "support the idea of organizing additional activities for nondelegates" at the government sponsored International Women's Year (IWY) conference in Houston this November. In addition to the 1,500 delegates, thousands of other women are expected to converge on Houston to discuss the issues facing the women's movement. The conference voted to urge New York NOW chapters to "encourage feminists to attend the conference and publicize it widely."

'We've got the power to win'

Speech by Willie Mae Reid to Nat'l Women's Political Caucus



Militant/Alex Chis

More than 1,200 women attended the September 9-11 national convention of the National Women's Political Caucus. The caucus was formed in 1971 to work for the election and appointment of more women to office, and to press for women's rights legislation. Most of the candidates endorsed by the caucus have been members of the Democratic and Republican parties.

On the eve of the convention, the Justice Department announced its opposition to affirmative-action quotas in the "Bakke" case. A resolution supported by the Black, Chicana, Asian-American, and lesbian caucuses to condemn the Justice Department's action was passed by the convention.

Delegates also discussed the Equal Rights Amendment, Carter's attacks on legal abortion, International Women's Year, and gay rights. Millie Jeffrey of Detroit, a former official in the United Auto Workers Union, was elected the new chairperson of the organization.

The caucus invited a number of women who have run for office to address its convention. Among the guest speakers were Democratic and Republican elected officials, appointees in the Carter administration, and Willie Mae Reid, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president in 1976.

Nearly 1,000 delegates attended the session where Reid spoke. Sharing the platform with her was Rep. Yvonne Braithwaite Burke (D-Calif.). We reprint below major excerpts from Reid's speech.

As we meet here this weekend to discuss ways to advance the cause of women, we have to assume that the enemies of women are also meeting. Maybe not in such an open way, but they're discussing how to further their attacks on the rights of women. I think we have to admit that they've been

more successful this year than we have.

It's been a long, hot summer for women, just as it's been a long, hot summer for Blacks, for gays, for working people as a whole.

The attacks that escalated in June have continued unabated. The U.S. Congress and Supreme Court, with President Carter's blessing, have all but eliminated Medicaid-funded abortions. This is a devastating blow to poor women, especially Black women, Puerto Rican women, and Chicanas.

The Hyde amendment banning Medicaid for abortions is the sharpest attack yet on the rights of women. It graphically signifies the method of confusion and division that's used over and over again by the politicians to disorient the women's movement.

When the Hyde amendment was introduced into the House this spring, women were confronted with the worst terms possible. The House voted to make no exception—whatsoever—on Medicaid abortions. The representatives denied funds even if the pregnancy was due to rape or incest, even if the life of the pregnant woman was in danger.

When the bill went to the Senate, the politicians there moved to "improve" it by allowing Medicaid for abortions in the case of rape, incest, or if the life of the woman was in danger.

Then they added a very confusing category, a very amorphous category, called "medically necessary." Extending funds for "medically necessary" abortions was said to greatly liberalize the bill.

Stage set for attack

Thus the stage was set by the politicians in Congress for how the right of women to choose would be debated in the next period. And some women got caught up in that debate. They believed that the House version of the Hyde amendment had to be defeated by supporting the so-called better language in the Senate amendment. But the real issue is the right of women to choose abortion without any restrictions whatsoever.

The future of safe, legal abortion for all women, and particularly for women who must rely on Medicaid, still hangs in the balance.

This is the opening round in an all-out assault against every woman's right to decide for herself whether, and when, to have children.

We must recognize this. And we must respond with the same determination that won the right to abortion. Or we're going to find ourselves right where we were before 1973, when the Supreme Court was forced to legalize abortion.

We've also been fighting for equal education and for jobs.

The Supreme Court's rulings in favor of racist and sexist seniority systems, and the California Supreme Court decision in the *Bakke* case, are taking the teeth out of the affirmative-action programs we need to break into better-paying jobs.

The Supreme Court's ruling that corporations don't have to pay disability to pregnant workers is another blow. It fosters the image of women as breeders, "temporary" workers, available only on a part-time basis.

And then there's the Equal Rights Amendment. This legal codification of women's equality is supported by the majority of the population. Yet it sits in the legislatures with three states to go for ratification.

Who are our enemies?

The ERA is stalled by the Democratic and Republican politicians women supported in the last elections because they claimed to be pro-women. Then these legislators turned around and voted against the ERA.

As for Carter, he says he's fulfilled his campaign promises he made to women by making a few appointments to his administration.

And then we have those nine men in black robes. They seem to think that 1977 is their year to rule women's rights out of existence.

It's the government's reactionary attacks on women that give encouragement to the right wing—the Phyllis Schlafly anti-ERA forces; the anti-abortion forces, including the Catholic church and Mormon church hierarchies; the antilabor forces; the antibusing bigots; and the antigay bigots. They all feel confident under this administration to escalate their attacks on Blacks, on women, on working people, on gays.

Who are our friends?

But we've got some friends. We've got some allies. And they're not those politicians or the people they tell us to trust.

Our allies are the miners striking for medical benefits; the young people demonstrating against nuclear power plants; the Blacks and Latinos protesting attacks on our civil rights; the hundreds of thousands who demonstrated for gay rights this summer; the undocumented workers victimized for seeking employment.

These are our friends and allies. They are the ones we should look to for support.

The women's movement has some-

thing else, too. We've got some proud traditions—the marches of the suffragists, the protests of the abortion rights movement, the women's meetings, conferences, and demonstrations that led to victory in the early 1970s.

We have the social struggle of women that pooled all of our talents and taught us to depend on ourselves. We have the method of independent struggle that developed us into confident leaders, organizers, and spokespeople.

Int'l Women's Year

That spirit of self-confidence has been expressed by the massive turnout for the International Women's Year state meetings, where women from all walks of life assembled. When the IWY delegates go to Houston for the national conference in November, we are going to need every supporter of women's rights there.

The right-wingers we faced at the state IWY meetings are already organizing to go to Houston to challenge the pro-woman perspective.

The supporters of women's rights are going to have to organize to guarantee that we are able to meet and confront the right wing, take them on, debate them, and defeat them politically. We've got to organize to make sure we're there in massive numbers so that we place a pro-woman stamp on that conference and its decisions.

The perspective of unity, action, and independence has laid the basis for every gain women have made. This is the kind of perspective that is needed today to meet the attacks head-on and push forward for total equality.

As a socialist I believe that victory in the struggle for women's rights will only come when there is a socialist society. But as a socialist I also support unconditionally the struggle for women's rights today, the demand of women for a change right now.

We need to build the women's movement, to fight uncompromisingly for our rights. In this way we can defeat our enemies and win the victories necessary to keep on struggling, carrying out that fight, as Malcolm X described it, "by any means necessary."

As women, we've got the power—the hundreds of women here at this convention, the thousands who have stood up in actions around the country this year, the tens of thousands who come to conferences to discuss their problems as women.

We've got the power to say "No!" to the antiwoman forces and to force the government to move on our demands.

We've got to organize

We've got to organize to do this. We've got to say to our opponents the very same thing that Black women in South Africa said to their opponents, the racists who want to maintain the apartheid system.

Those Black women fighters sent this message to the enemies of Black freedom in South Africa:

*You have touched the women,
You have struck a rock,
You have dislodged a boulder,
You will be crushed.*

By Willie Mae Reid

Which Way for the Women's Movement?
32 pp., 50 cents.

Black Women's Struggle for Equality
16 pp., 25 cents.

Affirmative Action Vs. Seniority
32 pp., 50 cents.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for a free catalog.



Maternity benefits bill passes in Senate

By Nancy Cole

The Senate has approved a bill that reverses the December 1976 Supreme Court ruling denying pregnancy benefits to working women.

The Senate vote on September 16 was seventy-five to eleven. A similar bill is scheduled to come before the House.

With a closer vote—forty-four to forty-one—the Senate rejected an amendment to the bill proposed by Missouri Democrat Thomas Eagleton. The amendment would have eliminated abortions from any pregnancy benefits.

The bill as passed would amend the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to prohibit sex discrimination in disability plans on the basis of pregnancy.

If employers provide medical disability plans, the proposed legislation requires them to include maternity leave and reemployment rights as part of those plans.

The Supreme Court decision that prompted the legislation was viewed as a major setback for the women's movement. Forty-three General Electric women workers had sued the company demanding maternity benefits in their disability plan. The GE plan as it was included benefits in the case of vasectomies, hair transplants, and cosmetic surgery.

The high court ruled that just because only women become pregnant doesn't mean that denying them maternity benefits is sex discrimination. What's involved, said Justice William Rehnquist, "is nothing more than an insurance package which covers some risks but excludes others."

The decision was greeted with protest by women's, civil rights, and union groups. Feminists and supporters of women's rights coined the slogan "Full rights for pregnant workers," and it became a theme of women's rallies and demonstrations in 1977.

Some 300 groups formed the Campaign to End Discrimination Against Pregnant Workers, headquartered at the Washington offices of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers. The coalition concentrated its efforts on lobbying Congress.

Even if the House approves the bill and it becomes law, there is no guarantee that employers will abide by it. It is estimated that it will cost businesses \$191.5 million to include pregnancy in disability plans. It will take vigilance on the part of women's groups and unions to see that it is enforced.

The discrimination against pregnant workers is by no means ended—even on the books. For example, a federal judge ruled this month that Pan American World Airways can force flight attendants onto unpaid leave as soon as the company learns they are pregnant.

The ruling came in a class-action suit filed on behalf of 3,400 female flight attendants. The judge said they might not be able to perform emergency duties, and besides, pregnant women get sleepy.

Full rights for pregnant workers!

Subscription drive organizers tell how they get good results

By Nelson Blackstock

It's still early in our fall campaign to sell 18,000 subscriptions to the *Militant*. Next week we'll run our first scoreboard, presenting the whole picture on how we're doing both locally and nationally.

While we don't have tallies this week, we do know that some areas are doing better than others. We wanted to know why this is and if there are things to be learned for the country as a whole.

In an effort to pinpoint what the most successful areas are doing right, we have had discussions with subscription drive organizers in several cities that have been doing well, including Oakland, Denver, Kansas City, and Chicago.

We have been able to put our fingers on several factors that stand out. Most of these areas seem to have developed some common subscription gathering methods that are working for them. Everybody involved in the subscription drive would do well to study them closely.

• It's important to politically present the subscription offer in the most effective way possible.

Subscription drive organizers in all the areas we talked to appear to be giving careful attention to this aspect of planning the drive. Most good sellers seem to have hit on a common way of conveying the value of a *Militant* subscription.

They say you need to explain how the *Militant* relates to issues of immediate concern to the people you're talking to.

This can be done in a number of ways. In Chicago they begin by explaining how the *Militant* reports the facts about the busing controversy—that it is letting readers know the truth about the racist threats to Black schoolchildren being covered up in the local media and by elected officials.

In sales in Denver's Chicano community they talk about the *Militant* coverage on issues directly affecting them—police brutality and deportations.

It's important to get across the idea that the *Militant* itself—by virtue of its unique reporting and point of view—is actually involved in campaigning for justice. Subscribing to the *Militant* is one way of taking a stand on these issues. The paper keeps readers informed on the facts and tells how they themselves can get involved.

Denver Socialist Workers Party organizer Joe Henry recommends that local coordinators of the drive sit down and go over the paper as soon as each new issue arrives. This will help prepare them, Henry says, to discuss how it can be sold most effectively to potential subscribers in their city. It's not a matter to be left to chance or the imagination of each individual subscription seller, says Henry. It warrants careful attention.

• Introduce yourself by giving the person you're talking to a piece of literature.

This ties in with the earlier suggestion. Frequently it will be a leaflet for an upcoming *Militant* Forum. It's better if the forum relates to a topic of special interest to the person you're talking to, but not essential.

On the opening day of the drive Joel Britton of Chicago told us that the response of Black working people to the *Militant* was better than he had seen in any drive since the height of the civil rights movement in the mid-1960s.

While canvassing in South Shore, he offered a leaflet announcing a forum sponsored by the Student Coalition Against Racism on the racist violence in Chicago. He would then proceed to explain how the *Militant* relates to that question. His total on the first day out was six subscriptions.

When selling in the Chicano community in Denver

Brisk sales on campus

Cities organizing systematic campus sales continue to report some of the best results.

Oakland, California, subscription drive director Nancy Fields says they have sold about half of their almost 100 subscriptions to students:

"Our most encouraging sales have been to Black and Chicano working-class students.

"We've concentrated on two predominantly Black and Chicano campuses, Merritt and Laney. During the day we cooperate with the Young Socialist Alliance in staffing tables. We sell socialist literature along with subscriptions.

"Then we follow up with evening teams to catch students who work during the day.

"We talk to them about how the *Militant* is a paper that's involved in issues they're interested in. The *Bakke* case is big out here, so we often concentrate on that."

they offer material on the antideportation issue.

Other areas are handing out the SWP's "Bill of Rights for Working People," an announcement on the opening of an SWP headquarters, or information on a socialist bookstore.

Just the act of offering someone such a piece of literature seems to be a useful way to open a dialogue.

• Organize the drive to assure maximum participation by everybody who wants to take part.

The areas that have had the most success begin by scheduling a major effort on the weekend, usually Saturday morning or Sunday afternoon.

But they follow up by organizing regular subscription teams throughout the week.

Nancy Fields in Oakland, for example, says they have been scheduling teams to go out for a relatively brief period right after team members get off work in the evening. Sometimes they go to a community to pick up a subscription from someone who expressed interest in the *Militant* earlier. Or they visit a community college for a while. It means team members must postpone their dinner for a while to catch potential subscribers at a time convenient for them.

• Best results in community sales are coming from Black and Chicano working-class areas.

Many areas report they are finding the most eager response among Black and Latino workers who hold jobs in industry and belong to unions.

Good results are also coming from sales to co-workers on the job. We'll have more on that in future issues.

Tips for subscription hunters

Each week during the drive we'll pass along useful suggestions we receive from people taking part in the subscription drive. If you have an idea you would like to share, send it in to: Circulation Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

One of the best ways to sell subscriptions to students is to visit them in their dormitory rooms. But how do you reach students who attend community colleges that have no dormitories or other concentrations of housing where students live?

We've found that the cafeteria is the answer.

What you do is just sit down at a table with a student or group of students and start talking about the *Militant*. It's a good place to get into a conversation and you can quietly and unobtrusively circulate from table to table. There's a continual turnover as students leave for classes and others come in.

We've sold a lot of subscriptions this way.

Dan Fein
Albuquerque

On to 18,000

The *Militant* is different from other newspapers. The *Militant* takes sides.

Of course, other newspapers take sides, too. But it's usually done in a dishonest way—under the guise of neutrality.

While feigning objectivity, the big daily papers peddle the lies of the steel corporations on what's at stake in the strike of iron miners on Minnesota's Mesabi Iron Range. They cover up for the racist hysteria being unleashed upon Black schoolchildren in the white enclaves of Chicago. They prattle about so-called reverse discrimination in the *Bakke* case.

The *Militant*, on the other hand, is unabashedly non-neutral. We take the side of the workers and oppressed. We make no bones about supporting the striking steelworkers against the greedy companies. We say Black children have every right to a decent education and must be defended against mob violence. We say the *Bakke* ruling represents an open challenge to the modest gains won by Blacks, Latinos, and women in recent years, and must be overturned.

That's why selling a subscription to the *Militant* is a political act. Expanding the circulation of the *Militant* is one of the best ways to counter the lies of the big-business-owned media.

This fall we are out to get 18,000 new subscribers. If you haven't already subscribed, do so now. If you already subscribe, sell a subscription to a friend or co-worker. Help us get out your side of the story.

Protest Biko killing

At first, South African Justice Minister James Kruger tried to deny that Steve Biko's death was of any significance.

Twenty other Blacks have died while in police detention over the last eighteen months. Kruger no doubt assumed that Biko's murder would blow over like all the others.

Biko's death "leaves me cold," Kruger bragged September 14 to the congress of the National Party. "If a man goes on a hunger strike, you cannot force him to eat. That is his democratic right."

But two days later Kruger was forced to contradict himself. "I never suggested at any stage that Biko starved himself to death," he said September 16.

The next day Kruger promised to take action. "I will go into the whole matter. . . . Heads may roll."

Kruger's change in tune was caused by the massive protests over Biko's death, both within South Africa and around the world. Demonstrations around Biko's death are a weapon to further isolate and discredit—and hence weaken—the South African regime.

Moreover, by pressuring the apartheid regime around the Biko murder, such demonstrations can help free other Black political prisoners and save the lives of militants arrested in the future.

The protests must continue.

Abortion alarm

As we go to press, the House and Senate continue to casually confer on the rights and lives of some 300,000 women.

Before September 30, a joint congressional committee is supposed to come up with a compromise between the House Hyde amendment and the Senate Brooke amendment. The debate is over just how far to go in restricting poor women's right to abortion.

Members of the House want to prohibit Medicaid funds for abortions except where the life of the woman is in danger. The senators generously throw in cases of rape, incest, and where abortion is "medically necessary."

We think it's a farce, a spectacle, but hardly a substantive debate. The real issue at stake is conspicuously absent in these lofty deliberations: the fundamental right of women to control their own bodies, whether they're poor or not.

As these legislators bargain away the right to abortion, women are showing increasing concern. Across the country, supporters of women's rights are discussing the need to vigorously defend the right of *all* women to abortion, through protest news conferences, speak-outs, and picket lines.

We join in sounding this alarm—every woman's right to abortion is at stake.

Letters

Getting better

The *Militant* is getting better all the time. Wish I had a million dollars to send in! Keep up the good work.

Deportations headlines on front and back pages, small or big, are very useful for sales in San Jose.

S.S.

San Jose, California

Bert Lance

I noticed that Bert Lance's lawyer is none other than Clark Clifford, the head of one of Washington's most powerful law firms. It was Clifford who was the main lawyer for the DuPont family in the famous antitrust case of the 1950s involving the DuPont's ownership of General Motors.

Clifford also came in as the emergency secretary of defense for the Johnson administration when National Liberation Front victories in the Vietnam War and the mounting antiwar movement toppled LBJ's rule. The "Clifford Group" of top-level ruling-class experts took over war policies and dictated to Richard Nixon the strategy of escalated bombing, troop withdrawal, and negotiation that Nixon subsequently followed.

With a lawyer like Clifford, who needs a case?

Dick Roberts

New York, New York

Grain cutbacks

Your editorial on proposed grain production cutbacks [September 9 *Militant*] overlooked a few factors.

First, American food is a luxury in energy terms. Some American foods are produced by an expenditure of five calories of energy for every calorie of food value produced.

Second, population growth is a reality, and so maximum food production in the present is bad. Some production slack should be retained to provide for future population growth (example: oil and gas in the United States).

Third, even socialist economics would not demand production of items that would go to waste. Market economics has an additional constraint that market price must exceed production costs.

Fourth, you forget that large amounts of food are provided free to many children of the world by the United States.

Jim Brown

Marysville, California

Gov't waste

Who is the largest publisher in the nation? Harper? Doubleday?

Little? . . .

Nope. It is the U.S. government.

A 1,168-page reference book called the *Andriot Guide* lists the serials and periodicals paid for by the government to print and distribute:

- more than \$4 million by the U.S. Air Force in fiscal 1977 for *Airman* magazine;
- at least \$57 million by the Pentagon in fiscal 1975 on 371 diverse magazines;
- \$1 million annually by the U.S. Army on its free magazine *Soldiers*, distributed to some 200,000 servicemen;
- \$414,000 annually by the FBI to distribute 70,000 copies of its *Law Enforcement Bulletin* to its forces;
- \$100,000 by the Interior Department for printing an annual illustrated booklet honoring the

Bicentennial;

- \$100,000 by the Transportation Department for some 12,000 magazines a year; etc., etc.

Millions of dollars spent needlessly (a survey showed that 41 percent of the people who have received the above publications have seldom if ever read them) while countless financially deprived families dread the beginning of each school year because they cannot afford to buy the books their children need for school.

Just think how many thousands of multilingual dictionaries could be printed and distributed for those millions of wasted dollars!

Michele Mooney

Los Angeles, California

Who's who in ACTWU

Frank Lovell's "National Picket Line" in the September 23 *Militant* refers to both Murray Finley and Sol Stetin as president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

Please make up your mind. Or better yet, check with the ACTWU and get the facts straight.

G.A.

Hoboken, New Jersey

[In reply—Through an error in editing, Sol Stetin was incorrectly identified. He is senior executive vice-president of the ACTWU.]

Gays vs. antigays

On Friday, October 7, antigay leader Anita Bryant comes to Indianapolis to whip up support for local attempts to reinstate antisodomy provisions of the criminal code. (The sodomy laws were eliminated from the code early this year.)

Indianapolis gay rights organizations are marshaling their forces for what is seen as a major test of strength between supporters of human rights for lesbians and gays, and those who would criminalize homosexuality.

The Indianapolis Coalition for Human Rights and the Gay People's Union of Indiana are cosponsoring a peaceful, orderly picket line at the Indiana State Fair Grounds across from the Bryant rally site. The coalition has mounted a major effort to rally massive support for the action.

Endorsers of the picket line to date include:

Indiana State National Organization for Women; Rev. Jeanine Ray, an ordained Baptist minister; Dr. Albert D. Klassen, sex research sociologist from Indiana University; Dr. Diane Brashere, Ph.D.; Jerry Ulman, American Federation of Teachers, Ball State University local in Muncie, Indiana; Bloomington Gay Alliance; Feminist Union (Purdue University); Indianapolis Student Coalition Against Racism; Indianapolis NOW; Socialist Workers Party; and the Young Socialist Alliance.

For more information about the picket line call (317) 636-9531 or 547-6704, or write Coalition for Human Rights, Post Office Box 20124, Indianapolis, Indiana 46220.

David Ellis

Indianapolis, Indiana

Disagreement on CP

I'd like to disagree with the statement by Frank Lovell on the Communist Party in his article on Minneapolis [August 26 *Militant*].



Partners in crime

They are certainly much more powerful than his brief paragraph would lead people to believe.

They have the only daily paper on the left with a weekly supplement, and have more than one special-interest or theoretical magazine. They also have a weekly Spanish-language press.

Their youth group is large, working-class in composition, and has a high percentage of third-world individuals.

The CP is the largest group on the left. Judging by their newspaper reports alone, they have a wide geographic distribution. They have a vast array of labor and Democratic Party contacts. They have a national caucus in steel. They have the American Institute for Marxist Studies on the East Coast with what they describe as an 8,500-book library, and they are in the process of establishing one out here in San Jose.

I could go on for quite a while, but I think I've made my point. I'd much prefer an analysis to explain why the CP's politics are so dangerous even though we may not see them all the time.

Jim Rousey
San Francisco, California

Groucho

Fred Feldman's tribute to Groucho Marx, following Duncan Williams's excellent appraisal of Elvis Presley, points to the type of review page the *Militant* should have.

Some additional thoughts on Groucho: Groucho was a vanguard force in the development of the science of comedy. He once said that all comedy was misfortune recalled. It was the art of laughing at the tragedies and absurdities of life.

It is no accident that Groucho and most of the other great comics of his time came out of the impoverished Jewish ghettos of New York.

In the same way, two of today's outstanding comedians, Richard Pryor and Lily Tomlin, reflect in their art the lives of Blacks and women.

All comedians and all of us who like to laugh owe a debt to Groucho. It was good to see the *Militant* pay tribute to a true genius.

Ike Nahem
New Orleans, Louisiana

Fills the gap

I've been reading the *Militant* for about a year now. I disagree strongly with its positions on Puerto Rico and Israel. However, in a democracy all political views have an important place and should be heard.

The many articles on other subjects that are run are of great interest to me. The "capitalist" press, as you call it, is quite lacking in perspective on many things and the *Militant* helps fill in some of the gaps. Keep up the good work.

Donald H. Brayden, Jr.
Maynard, Massachusetts

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

This is the old story of "partnership" between labor and capital, with modern conglomerate trimmings. It involves a building-trades union official and a septuagenarian huckster from the business world.

The name of the huckster is Joseph Friedman, a self-made capitalist who began his career as a shoe salesman and has been "fitting" people ever since. At seventy he is the energetic chairman of the board of Chromalloy Corporation, a conglomerate of more than a hundred diverse promotional and manufacturing companies.

Last May Chromalloy's "corporate industrial relations department" held its first annual conference. The agenda included control of labor costs, collective bargaining, affirmative action, and winning disputes. The purpose was to learn how to take advantage of right-to-work laws and circumvent antidiscrimination orders. No one from the union movement was invited.

Friedman, however, has need of union officials and includes them in his plans. He has a scheme to evade taxes, and is promoting it through the "Committee To Reform Double Taxation Of Investment," which he organized. This committee seeks to eliminate the tax on income from corporate investment.

Some say only "fat cats" would benefit, but Friedman denies this. He says his tax plan will increase the market value of stocks, provide capital for industrial expansion, and create millions of jobs. And at this point he calls upon his "pardners" in the union movement.

Chromascope, a Chromalloy house organ, announced last June that "Chairman Joseph Friedman has spearheaded the formation of a coalition of top national labor and business leaders whose goal will be to influence tax policies which will provide capital investment needed to produce jobs for American workers."

And don't you know he found just the right fit. First off in the listing of "national figures" were the heads of a half-dozen AFL-CIO international unions. And it

wasn't hard for Friedman to find representatives of small business, several investment bankers, somebody described as a "prominent economist," and the American representative of one (unnamed) of Europe's largest banks.

This is the coalition that sponsors a Friedman-created organization named "Project For A Prosperous America," which held its first meeting in Washington last May.

At that meeting the new organization chose a chairman. His name is Thomas Murphy, president of the International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen, AFL-CIO. Chairman Murphy is not quoted in the company publication, being a silent partner.

Friedman does all the talking, as is proper and fitting. The following is some of what he said:

On why he picked Chairman Murphy. "Mr. Murphy's election as chairman was significant, because it is a solid indication that both business and labor have a common interest in solving the problems of unemployment and inflation and encouraging business growth in this country."

On the immediate task. "There was general agreement that a major priority would be to demonstrate to the Congress and the Carter Administration that business and labor are not adversaries but partners on many issues that influence public policy."

Chromalloy Corporation is not very influential in the policy-making decisions of the U.S. ruling class. Neither does the president of the Bricklayers union have much to say in AFL-CIO councils. But Friedman's front organizations are typical of many so-called "grass roots" business groups.

Being a confirmed believer in "free enterprise" and labor-management collaboration, Thomas Murphy isn't much different from other union bureaucrats. Most others would probably ask what's in it for Tom. And maybe Tom did too, even if it wasn't much.

One thing for sure, no bricklayer will gain anything.

iLa Raza en Acción!

Statement on Crusade attack

The September 23 "Militant" carried a report of a violent attack by members of the Denver Crusade for Justice on a cultural-political program held at Our Lady of Guadalupe Church. This attack fits into a pattern of violence by members of the Crusade against those with whom they disagree politically.

Following is a September 4 statement by the Guadalupe Parish Council on the attack by Crusade members.

In the interest of clarifying rumors and for the sake of clearly stating our position relative to the actions which occurred within the facilities of this parish on Saturday, August 27, 1977, the Parish Council of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church has studied the incident and herein presents its findings.

On Saturday, August 27, "Su Teatro," a local, Chicano-theatre group, attempted to hold a meeting at Guadalupe Hall. Following routine procedures, Su Teatro had previously scheduled this meeting with the approval of the pastor, Fr. Jose Lara.

At 12:00 noon, Su Teatro, several of whose members are active parishioners of this church, and interested people from the community, including men, women and children, assembled at the Hall for what was scheduled to be a four-hour session.

Shortly thereafter, a group of about 40 people, some of whom remained outside, entered the Hall and disrupted the meeting. They upset tables and chairs, broke bottles, indulged in loud and obscene insults, and demanded that everyone present leave the Hall. These disrupters claimed to be the "community." They accused the participants of being communists and screamed that they were opposed to communists having meetings in their neighborhoods. Some of the disrupters were seen carrying sticks and pipes as weapons.

Participants at the meeting recognized the intruders as being members or sympathizers of the Crusade for

Justice. They included: Larry Aragon, Antonio Archuleta, Reba Garcia, Nita Marquez, Tony Marquez, Ken Portuese, Teresa Romero, Antonio Salinas, Leonard Vigil, and others who, at the time of this statement, have not yet been identified. Su Teatro, fearing for the safety of those present, reluctantly complied with the demand.

Spokespersons for the disrupters had earlier completed five threatening calls to the church Centro regarding the meeting.

By what right do these terrorists invade our building and violently expel people who had permission to use our facilities? They do not speak for us; they do not represent us. We speak for ourselves and we represent ourselves. This action was nothing less than an attack upon our church and an insult to the dignity of our parish community. Guadalupe Hall is Our lady of Guadalupe Church property. It is our property and no one—no one, especially by threat or intimidation, has the right to dictate to us how we use our own property.

As parishioners of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church and as members of the Denver Chicano community, our response to this instance of irresponsible behavior is one of outrage and revulsion. We cannot and will not tolerate the use of violence and fear by those who would attempt to deny civil and human rights so basic as those of lawful assembly and free speech—especially when such actions are committed on this church's property.

Neither can we allow any outside forces to usurp our authority over our own facilities. Just as we do not dictate policy affecting the property of the Crusade for Justice or any other organization, so we reserve our ownership rights over our facilities. After all, we constructed these buildings with our money and with our hands. We, the parishioners, determine who may have the free use of our buildings.

We insist upon this right and we will enforce it. Those who do not abide by it will be held accountable for their actions.



Un-American—Gallup pollsters were concerned to find that many youth have a “somewhat idealized” comprehension of the world. For instance, “a surprising number of young people, especially girls, wanted to become veterinarians. Yet the comments offered by the teen-agers indicated that it was love of animals rather than monetary or professional ambitions that lay behind their choice.”

That's strange—According to the Annual Housing Survey, about 95 per-

cent of homeowners making \$25,000 a year or more rated their neighborhoods as good to excellent. But only 24 percent of those making \$5,000 or less felt the same way.

A real high—The Japanese tobacco industry likes to push its product with the suggestion that smoking relaxes the mind and improves efficiency on the job. But a study by the Japan National Institute of Public Health showed that smoking causes blood pressure to rise and comprehension to fall.

View from the couch (I)—The single most common cause of mental illness is poverty, Dr. Fredrick Ilfield told the American Psychiatric Association. A study showed that people with incomes under \$4,000 are twice as likely to have emotional difficulties as the rest of the population.

View from the couch (II)—Dr. Ray Grinker told the APA that many of the children of the superrich are “emotional zombies” who are bored, shallow, disinterested in work, and short on

values and goals. The problem, he said, is not the millions but the parental disinterest.

Penny ante anyone?—We like that man in the Texaco commercials who refutes the myth about oil companies raking in big profits. Texaco's net profit worldwide, he explains, is but a penny a gallon. And he doesn't even mention that with a sale of fifty billion gallons last year, the penny-a-gallon profit was but \$5 hundred million.

Women in Revolt

Question for Communist Party

The following is a guest column by Joanne Tortorici.

A clause providing equal rights for women in the Soviet Union's proposed new constitution has sparked a sharp debate among the readers of *Pravda*, the Soviet Communist Party's newspaper.

The provision is similar to the Equal Rights Amendment in the United States, which still requires ratification by three more states before it can become law.

The Soviet clause states, “In the USSR, women shall have equal rights with men.” It goes on to say that this should be realized by providing equal opportunities in jobs and education, equal pay, and equality in other areas. It says “special measures” must be taken to protect the “labor and health of women,” and calls for various kinds of maternal support.

Pravda opened the debate by printing a letter from a man who stated the clause would place women in a “privileged position.” This provoked an answer from a seamstress that was printed a week later in the paper.

“I agree with the parts of the text that tell about

the equality men and women have gained in our country, but I don't agree that everything has already been accomplished. No, there is still much to do in order to strengthen and deepen what has already been achieved,” she declared.

Some readers said they especially welcomed the part of the new constitution that would provide for support of women with children, including paid maternity leaves and other benefits.

Many letters to the editor indicated the belief that women already have equality in the USSR. But a large number of women expressed concern that their rights currently end when they step through the door of their home. There they are still expected to take full responsibility for housework and child care.

The Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky insisted that full emancipation for women could only be achieved by removing the material obstacles that kept women in the prison of domestic slavery. This required the construction of child-care centers, cafeteria services, and public laundry facilities on a mass scale.

Today, sixty years later, the Stalinist regime has taken only minimal steps in this direction. Women

Willie Mae Reid



remain in a second-class position, reinforced by reactionary propaganda about their “place” in Soviet society. Among the most backward aspects of this stereotyping is the glorification of women's role as childbearer through the “mother-heroine” medal. This is awarded to women who bear ten or more children. (Small comfort to a woman already holding down two full-time jobs for the price of one.)

The debate over the Soviet constitution indicates that many women are not satisfied with their present situation in Soviet society.

It would be interesting to know what American Stalinists think of this discussion. The CPUSA fiercely opposes the Equal Rights Amendment in this country. Not a few American CP members are known to be uncomfortable about the fact that their party has placed itself in the same camp with the John Birch Society, Schlafly's STOP ERA group, and other right-wing, antilabor organizations.

How will the American CP reconcile its reactionary position on the ERA with the Soviet Union's proposal to add such an amendment to its own constitution? Or will it comment at all on the question? Undoubtedly, many CP members are wondering the same thing.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Arnold Weissberg



Feeding at the company trough

The food industry spends hundreds of millions of dollars each year to get us to eat what it produces. The money goes into slick advertising campaigns aimed at convincing us that whatever they put in the food is nutritious.

Not all the money goes into clever TV jingles, though. “Feeding at the Company Trough,” a report released a year ago by the Center for Science in the Public Interest and Rep. Benjamin Rosenthal (D-N.Y.), reveals that the food industry spends millions of dollars funding “research” in the nutrition departments of the nation's largest universities.

Many of the most prestigious nutritionists are on food industry payrolls.

Not surprisingly, the reports these “scientists” produce generally conclude that everything the food trust does is good for us.

For example, two dental scientists at Harvard, the report discloses, churned out a study that “proved” sugar-coated breakfast cereals have no connection to tooth decay. They neglected to mention that the study was partly financed by Kellogg. The report was denounced by other, more objective researchers as utterly worthless.

Or take the case of Dr. Frederick Stare, who has been the head of the Harvard Department of Nutrition since it was founded in 1942. He is also a

widely syndicated nutrition columnist.

Stare has testified before Congress on behalf of Kellogg, Nabisco, Carnation, the Cereal Institute, and the Sugar Association, the report reveals.

He also uses his prominence as a nutritionist to beat the drums for sugar and food additives, covering up their known dangers—heart disease, from sugar, and cancer, from food additives.

Stare's views, though, are apparently congenial to the food industry. Amstar (sugar), Coca Cola, Oscar Mayer, and others funneled \$2 million to his department between 1971 and 1974.

The food industry also puts its money to work on the government. The National Academy of Sciences, for example, which was established by Congress, is supposed to provide high-level scientific opinion completely objectively.

But when the Food and Drug Administration needed a major study done on food additives, it preferred to contract it out rather than have the NAS do it. The reason? It was easier that way to avoid any conflict of interest, because so many NAS members had ties to the food industry.

Another example: the case of monosodium glutamate (MSG). Until recently MSG was routinely added to dozens of foods. A few years ago evidence began to accumulate against it. MSG was found to

cause brain damage in mice.

So the Food Protection Committee of the Food and Nutrition Board, which operates under the NAS, undertook a study.

Dr. Lloyd Filer of the University of Iowa headed the project. Twenty percent of his research funds come from the food industry. Two members of his research team actually got grants from the major manufacturer of MSG.

Probably the greatest influence on infant nutrition comes from the baby food companies. Alongside their multi-million-dollar propaganda campaign, the educational programs of the federal Office of Maternal and Child Health are barely noticeable.

One reason for the office's low profile, the report suggests, may be that its scientific adviser, Dr. Samuel Fomon, runs a laboratory that receives grants and consulting fees from Gerber (baby foods), Nestle, CPC International (Mazola, Skippy peanut butter), and other food giants.

These are only a few of the many cases cited in “Feeding at the Company Trough.” Its authors have done a valuable service in showing how the vast profits of the food industry subtly—and sometimes not so subtly—have taken over the entire system that is supposed to regulate it.

Socialists' lawsuit shows

FBI informers: a multi-million-dollar operation

By Diane Wang

Political dirty work isn't cheap. In fact, it cost the FBI \$1,683,000 in cash just to pay a portion of the informers it used against the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

One operative collected \$46,383.15 during a seven-year period, taking in \$11,100.00 in just one year.

On September 12 the FBI described its payoffs to informers in answers to questions in the SWP and YSA lawsuit against government harassment.

The new FBI information covers only 309 informers who were actually members of the SWP or YSA between 1960 and 1976.

In addition, the FBI admits it used an informer network of some 1,000 people who were not members of the SWP or YSA. Apparently these free-floating informers were used not only against the socialists, but against other opponents of government policy as well. The network may have been made up of landlords, bank officials, or other people who attended public meetings of political groups. The latest FBI answers give no information on these 1,000 non-member informers.

As might be expected, nearly all the informers worked for cash, not patriotic duty. Of the 309 member-informers only 8 were not paid.

All 301 were required to sign statements saying they were not "employees" of the FBI receiving a salary. Instead, they were given cash for expenses and "services." In other words, the money was a reward paid on a piecework basis.

The socialists demanded the information as part of their legal offensive

against the government's use of political informers. As a first step toward getting the files of all 1,300 informers used against them, the SWP and YSA have demanded the complete, uncensored files of eighteen operatives, a cross section of the informer network.

Federal Judge Thomas Griesa has ordered the FBI to show the eighteen files to the socialists' attorneys. But the government is appealing that ruling.

In its attempt to avoid turning over the full files, the FBI has resorted to all kinds of maneuvers—from massive legal briefs to publicity stunts. About a year ago, for example, the Justice Department declared its "investigation" of the socialists over. The FBI ordered its informers to get out of the SWP and YSA.

In the course of its thirty-eight-year "investigation" of the SWP the government failed to produce any evidence of crimes or violence.

What the millions bought

The glimpse of informers' operations available from the limited evidence made public so far shows why the FBI is anxious to keep its files secret.

The FBI certainly tried to get its money's worth from the informers. The operatives collected files, financial records, personal letters, phone lists—anything they could get their hands on.

In response to questions about how the informers got hold of this material the government generally replied, "unknown." But when the complete file of informer Timothy Redfearn was made public it showed he had broken into the SWP's Denver office and into YSA members' homes to get his loot.

When he was brought to trial for the burglary of the SWP office, Redfearn explained that he had been trying to get a big FBI bonus. Since, as FBI records show, the amount of payment depends on the material turned in, informers are driven by a powerful incentive to steal as much as they can.

The informers get cash not only for materials, but also for "services." What kind of services? Disruption.

One FBI memo made public by the socialists September 12 describes a political debate going on in an SWP branch during the 1960s. The FBI instructed its informers to take an active part in the debate.

The memo said that "without compromising themselves," the informers should try "to keep the [minority] group versus the majority group turmoil at its highest possible peak."

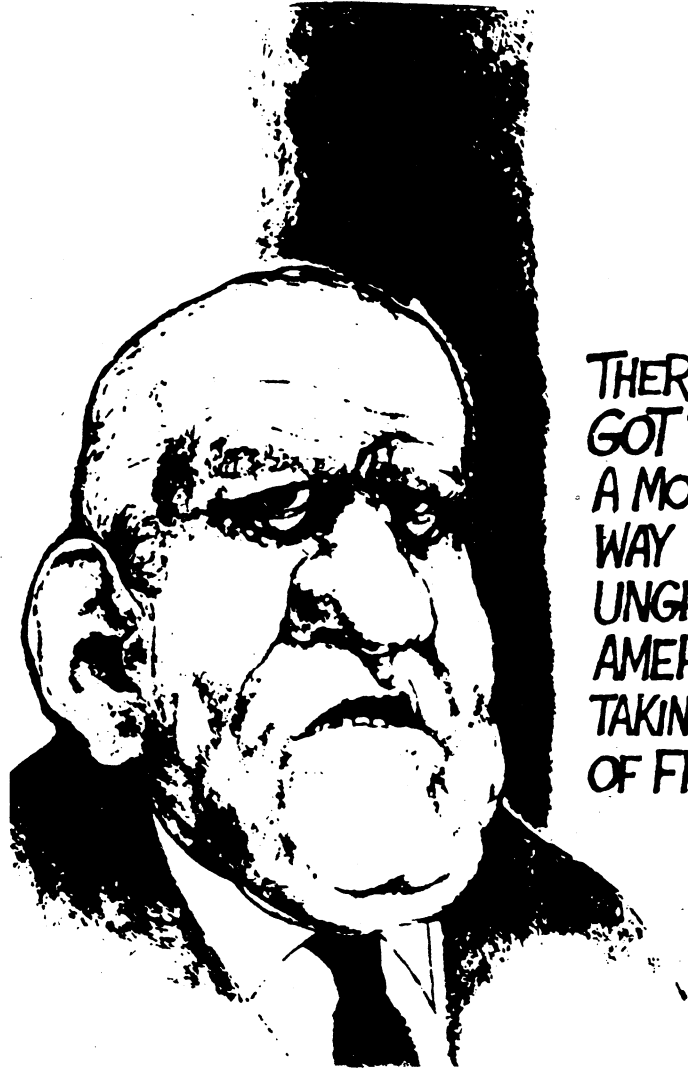
As long as the dispute could be magnified, said the FBI, "the bickering will continue which will have an adverse effect on any new members recruited."

The memo bragged that one informer was "in a position as neutral as possible, but at the same time keeping the points of controversy before . . . the Branch membership. As a result it is believed [deleted] has played an important part in 'fanning the flames' of discord and discontent. . . ."

Samples of the work

The facts about informer payments add a little to what is known about the eighteen informers whose files have been demanded. For example:

- Informer No. 73 was a member for five years and was paid \$5,679.25. That person was asked to supply details about socialists' residences and employment. As other evidence in the lawsuit has shown, the FBI used such information in attempts to get socialists evicted from their apartments and fired from their jobs.
- Informer No. 1123 collected \$2,320.00 for being a YSA member for



THERE'S GOT TO BE A MORE EFFECTIVE WAY TO PREVENT UNGRATEFUL AMERICANS FROM TAKING ADVANTAGE OF FREE SPEECH!!

only four months. According to the files, that person was "advised to continue to question the loyalty of other members at every opportunity." One of the government's most useful disruption tactics is trying to make political activists suspect each other of being agents. The FBI calls it "putting a snitch jacket" on someone.

- Informer 1007 received \$19,106.80 over a ten-year period. Like many of the informers, she joined the SWP at the FBI's urging. She was "instructed to be more active" by her government bosses.

- Informer No. 148 did better financially, receiving \$10,631.50 for four years of work. He was sent to several YSA conventions. The 1974 YSA convention posed a special problem for him, since Judge Griesa, presiding over the lawsuit, ordered the FBI not to use informers at that gathering. To

keep his cover, No. 148 was told to go to the convention but not to report on the YSA's lawsuit or the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which is organizing support for the suit.

An outrageous expenditure

Commenting on the new evidence about informers, Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the PRDF, said:

"This \$1,683,000 is taxpayers' money that could have been spent on any of the many social programs the government has been slashing back. Instead it was squandered on disrupting legal political activity."

"At the very least, American citizens have a right to see the product of this outrageous expenditure and examine the FBI's files for themselves. That will be a major step toward stopping this kind of attack on democratic rights."

Rummaging around...

How far will a clever G-man go to make trouble for socialists? An FBI memo dated October 10, 1963, shows that there is no end to the ideas agents pulled from their bag of dirty tricks.

The FBI's informers told them that the Socialist Workers Party had made money on rummage sales, and that an SWP branch was planning another sale.

The FBI thought it over. "The possibility of giving newspaper publicity to the rummage sale and identifying the sponsoring organization, the SWP, as having been designated by the Attorney General of the United States has been considered," said the memo.

But the agents gave up that idea since the "usual purchasers at the rummage sale" were SWP members and friends, "who would not stay away from the sale due to publicity."

And it didn't look like the FBI could frighten the landlady where the sale was to be held into refusing the SWP the space.

So what was the alternative? "It appears that the only way possible to disrupt the rummage sales is the physical destruction of the available material."

Fortunately, the local agents decided the sale would not make enough money to make it worth their while. Sabotage of the sale, they concluded in that case, "does not justify the drastic measures which would be necessary to physically destroy the rummage material."

What if the socialists had planned a bake sale? No doubt the agents would have tried to have "four and twenty blackbirds baked into a pie."

—D.W.

Political Rights Defense Fund



The FBI thinks it is worth millions of dollars to harass people who disagree with governmental policy. It spent \$1,683,000 on informers to disrupt the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance alone.

And that's just a bit of the budget. The FBI had to pay bonuses to agents

who broke into offices. There had to be money for its poison-pen and other disruption schemes. Plus the money for electronic wiretapping.

It wasn't just the FBI, either. The Secret Service, Military Intelligence, CIA, White House teams—all these political police agencies were at work.

The SWP and YSA have exposed many of these illegal operations through their lawsuit against government harassment.

Won't you help us get out more of the government's secret files and fight these attacks on all our democratic rights?

We need money for legal expenses and to sort and organize the thousands of pages of evidence. Please contribute to the Political Rights Defense Fund, the group organizing support for the lawsuit.

Enclosed is my contribution of _____
Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

Crisis in profit rates

Is the world economic recovery ending?

By Dick Roberts

Around the globe there are signs that the capitalist economic upturn that began in 1975 is coming to an end.

One of the most ominous features is the lag in capital spending, that is, a lower than normal rate of building new plants and equipment. The chart from *Newsweek* shows this phenomenon in the United States. In fact, it is an international phenomenon.

It reflects a long-term profits crisis of world capitalism that is key to understanding the increased attacks on the wages and living standards of workers here and abroad.

The feature of this crisis that is most apparent and most affects workers right now is rising unemployment.

Unemployment in the United States rose last month from 6.9 percent to 7.1 percent. This meant that July, with an unemployment level of 6.9 percent, was one of the few months in the past four years in which the national unemployment rate dipped below 7 percent.

The August unemployment level for Blacks—14.5 percent—was as bad as the worst levels of Black unemployment in the 1974-75 depression.

Overseas unemployment figures are as bad or worse. European countries have seen the unemployment rolls climb 12 percent this year. Britain's unemployment level, at 1.6 million jobless, is its highest since World War II. The unemployment level in Canada is 8.1 percent.

Nevertheless, while unemployment is climbing in practically every capitalist country, industrial production is also still rising in most of the capitalist world.

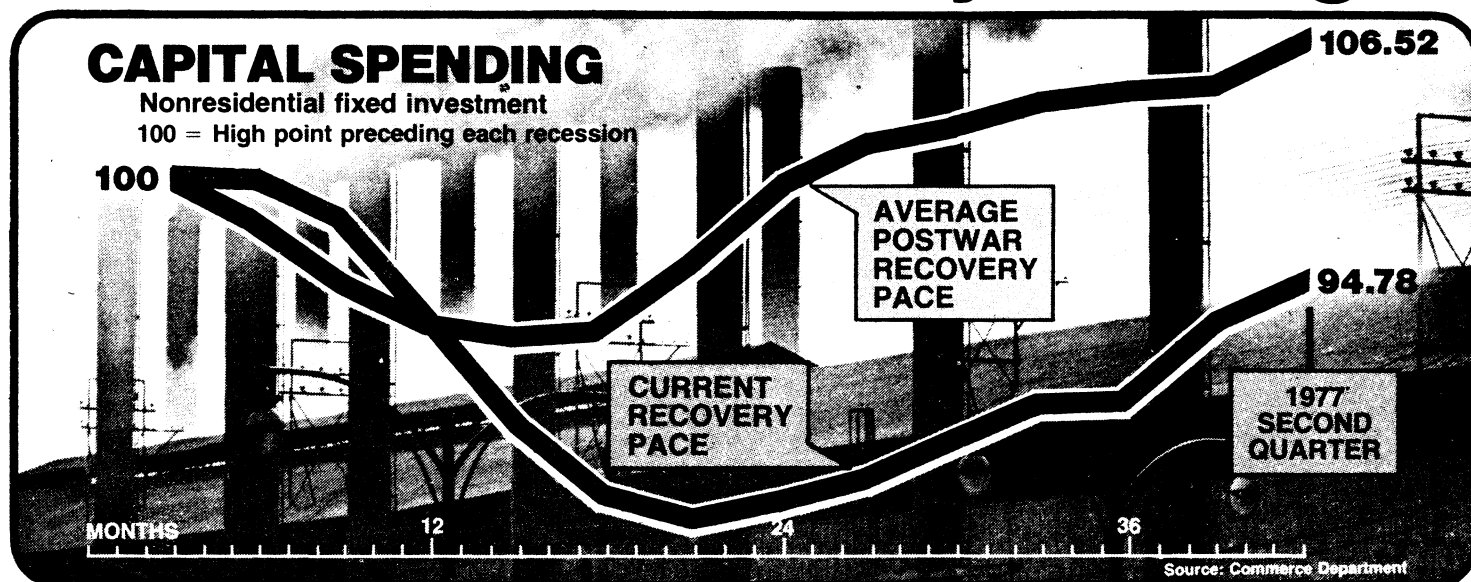
Industrial production

The high unemployment levels show that industrial production is not rising *fast enough* in these countries to provide the needed jobs. Young people coming onto the labor market, women and oppressed nationalities who face racial and sexual discrimination, are not finding sufficient work. There is not enough steam in the world economy to provide these jobs. Moreover, the lag in building new plants could mean that the world economy will begin to turn down before these unemployed workers find jobs.

The rates of increase of industrial production are already slowing down.

According to a recent assessment by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the projected economic growth for its twenty-four member countries in Western Europe, North America, and Asia will fall to 4 percent in 1977 from 5.2 percent in 1976.

New York's Citibank forecasts that the growth rate of the seven biggest



OECD countries—the United States, Canada, Japan, Britain, France, West Germany, Italy—will fall this year from 5.1 percent to 3.9 percent.

The Carter administration remains officially optimistic that the American recovery will continue throughout 1977 and into 1978. But on Wall Street a different picture emerges.

Stock market

Stock market prices have been falling sharply since the beginning of this year. The Dow Jones average of leading industrial stocks is the most closely followed indicator of stock prices. It has fallen more than 100 points, from 980 in January to 868 in mid-September.

This is a decline of 11.4 percent in the Dow Jones average. But the share prices in two key industries have fallen more sharply: automobile stock prices are down 13.6 percent in 1977, and steel and iron stock prices are down 33 percent.

The decline of auto stock prices is of interest because right now the auto companies are racking up record automobile sales and profits.

Auto sales, in fact, are one of the main props of the economy. They were high in 1977 and the auto companies are coming on with the 1978 models—released this month—as though times have never been better and autos have never been a better buy.

Obviously the owners of the car companies don't believe it. Last month the Big Three raised 1978 model prices around 7 percent. The low-priced Chevrolet Nova will start at \$4,035. "Moderately priced" models will run well over \$6,000 in many cases, which is half a year's wages for most workers.

People cannot afford to go on purchasing cars at these rates indefinitely. That is why businessmen have been selling their shares in the auto-

mobile corporations, driving the stock prices down.

This trend on the ticker tape could spell big trouble for the economy as a whole. When auto sales do actually turn down, the car manufacturers will fire thousands of workers. In 1974 slashes in the auto work force alone were enough to propel the economy toward depression. Unemployment in some Black auto-manufacturing neighborhoods in Detroit reached more than 50 percent by the winter of 1974-75.

Steel crisis

The crisis in the steel industry has already hit and it is directly caused by the capital spending lag.

Business Week magazine relates in the September 19 issue: "Only three years after one of the biggest booms in its history, the steel industry is in deep trouble. U.S. steelmakers are swamped by overcapacity, red ink, and a tide of imports offered at prices they cannot match. And their problems are only part of a fundamental dislocation in the worldwide trading economy that the U.S. and its allies have painstakingly constructed in the years since World War II.

"Operating rates for the steel industry in Japan, Europe, and the U.S. range from 55% to 80%. In spite of all its troubles, the U.S. is still at the high end of the scale."

This means that so far, at least, U.S. steel companies have cut back production less than their European competitors. But American steelworkers are already feeling the bite.

U.S. Steel is threatening to close its enormous South Works in Chicago, firing 8,000 workers.

Bethlehem Steel has announced plans to cut production by 10 percent and lay off 7,300 workers. Other steel companies are hinting similar plans. And at the bottom of the competitive heap, Alan Wood Steel has gone into bankruptcy.

The steel glut is worldwide. Steel is piled up in stockyards everywhere because new plant construction is not under way on a big enough scale. Plant construction consumes 60 to 70 percent of new steel. If the lag in capital spending continues it could plunge worldwide steel production much lower.

New plants

In a normal capitalist business upturn—as the *Newsweek* chart shows—the expansion of sales reaches a point where new plants must be built to meet the rising demand for goods.

But to be persuaded that they should invest in new plants the capitalists also have to believe they will make profits—high enough profits. It takes several years for the plants to be built and even more years to pay for them. This is the risk that American business executives and their colleagues around the world are unwilling to take.

The matter was recently discussed by Alan Greenspan, who was the head

of President Nixon's Council of Economic Advisers.

"The shortfall in recovery to date is easy to identify—a lack of private investment; and its cause all too evident—a failure of confidence," Greenspan wrote. His article appeared in the August 6 issue of the British financial magazine the *Economist*. Greenspan tried to drive the theme home hard.

"While the causes of [the] high degree of investment risk vary from country to country," Greenspan wrote, "at root is a profound uncertainty of the shape of the future economic environment in which new facilities might be functioning."

If we replace "economic environment" with what Greenspan is really talking about—profits—we come to the core of the problem: World capitalism faces a "profound uncertainty about future profits."

This is why sufficient spending is not being undertaken and it is also the main reason stock prices are falling in New York.

Greenspan's profit crisis is not new. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, as the European, Japanese, and U.S. booms gave way to stagnation and inflation, it became increasingly clear that the postwar heyday of monopoly profits was being undermined.

A long-term drop in profit rates was taking place. This inevitable economic tendency under capitalism was first pinpointed and explained by Karl Marx in *Capital*:

When more and more expensive plants and machinery are built by the capitalists to manufacture more goods at less cost, the living labor in production is diminished. Workers are thrown out by advancing technology.

But only workers themselves, actually involved in production, create the surplus value that is the sole source of capitalist profits.

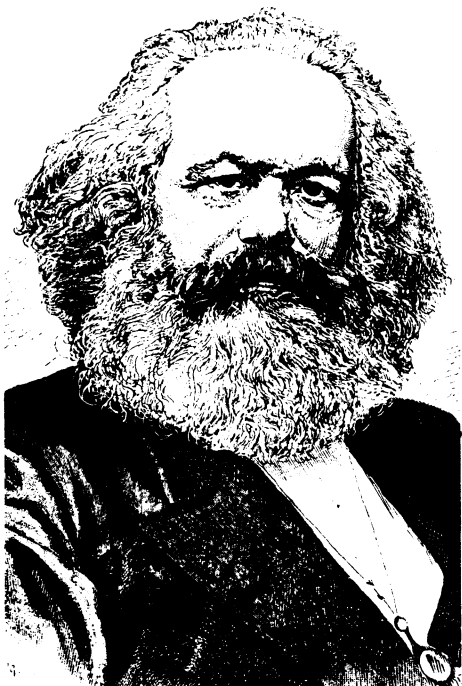
As technology advances, and as machine production of goods increases relative to their production by workers, the long-term trend is toward a decline in the amount of surplus value relative to the total amount of capital invested. The profit rate must then also drop.

This phenomenon fundamentally explains Greenspan's "profound uncertainty about the future economic environment." World capitalism is refusing to invest because its profit rates are dropping.

To be sure, the capitalists always complain that profits should be higher and always seek to hold wages to the lowest possible level. But during the long post-World War II economic boom, the U.S. corporations feasted on the greatest monopoly superprofits ever.

Today, the threat of a decline in these superprofits lies behind the capitalists' drive against workers. The capitalists want to slash the wages and living standards of workers in order to increase profit margins.

Continued on page 30



MARX



GREENSPAN

Dem. 'friends' stun labor lobbyists

Small raise, big cuts in minimum wage bill

By Dick Roberts

The House of Representatives passed a minimum wage bill September 15 that marked a further sharp blow against the labor movement. "Friend of labor" Democrats in Congress played a key role in dealing this blow.

The House bill increased the national minimum wage from \$2.30 an hour to \$2.65 an hour as had been expected.

But at the same time Congress stripped more than three million workers from minimum pay coverage, refused to liberalize the minimum wage for waitresses and waiters receiving tips, and refused to go along with an indexation plan backed by the AFL-CIO officialdom.

The Senate has not yet acted on the law.

"Labor lobbyists were angry and bewildered over their setbacks today," the September 16 *New York Times* reported from Washington. "They had worked long and hard to lay a groundwork for victory and had formed alliances with other groups in their efforts to win support for the minimum wage bill."

The *Wall Street Journal* also noted this setback to union supporters of the Democratic Party.

"The House brushed aside some of labor's prime goals," the *Wall Street Journal* said. A "general antilabor



AFL-CIO chief George Meany. His policy has suffered another defeat.

atmosphere" was "evident in the House yesterday," the financial newspaper reported.

Specifically, the AFL-CIO leadership had lobbied for two aspects of the minimum wage bill that the House defeated.

First of all they had proposed an indexation method whereby the minimum wage would be permanently pegged at 53 percent of the average manufacturing wage starting in 1980. Between now and 1980 the indexation proposal would have raised the min-

imum wage a second step to roughly \$2.89 in 1979 and \$3.15 in 1980, after which it would automatically rise to remain at the 53 percent level.

Such a law would have been a step closer to a protection all workers need, namely a cost-of-living escalator that automatically raises wages as prices go up. Socialists believe that workers who receive the minimum wage or Social Security or are unemployed, as well as those who have jobs, should receive automatic pay boosts when the cost of living goes up. This is the only way to protect wages against inflation.

The indexation scheme was gutted by the House in a 223-to-193 vote. Dozens of supposedly prolabor liberal Democrats raised their hands against the union-backed proposal.

In the House-passed bill the minimum wage will rise to \$2.85 in 1979 and then be fixed at \$3.05 in 1980.

The second aspect of the law defeated by the House was a proposal to eliminate a special "tip credit" that allows employers of waitresses and other workers who earn tips to pay only 50 percent of the minimum wage. The majority-Democratic House killed this proposal by an even larger 264-to-161 vote.

Yet a third blow at workers was rushed through in the House bill.

Currently, all workers who work for firms with annual sales of more than

\$250,000 have to receive at least the minimum wage.

But the House raised this level to \$500,000. If the bill becomes law, in one stroke an estimated 3.5 million to 4 million workers will be taken out of minimum wage coverage. The vote on this was 221 to 183, with large numbers of Democrats voting directly against workers' interests.

This is the second major blow this year at bills that the union officialdom promised Democrats—"if elected"—would pass. The first one was killed last spring, a bill that would have broadened the picketing rights of construction workers.

There is an "antilabor atmosphere" in the House as the *Wall Street Journal* reports. And it is also in the Senate, in the Supreme Court, and in the White House. It is a concerted drive against the rights of workers, against their wages, and against their standard of living.

This antilabor drive was launched by the capitalist rulers of this country and it is being carried out by their representatives in the Democratic and Republican parties.

Only when the labor movement stops backing the capitalists' Democratic Party, and builds its own labor party to fight for its own interests, can effective opposition to the capitalist antilabor drive be mounted.

White House dirty trick backfires

Lance scandal exposes Carter's rhetoric

By David Frankel

"The Lance case seems progressively to be bringing out the worst in everybody," the editors of the *Washington Post* complained September 16.

These experienced defenders of American capitalism were understandably upset. The Lance case has once again raised the specter of declining trust and confidence in the government—exactly the problem that Jimmy Carter promised to overcome.

To begin with, Lance himself—Carter's budget director and closest political advisor—has been thoroughly discredited despite his effective performance before the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee.

Although Lance succeeded in beating back some of the most serious charges against him during the Senate hearings, it remains clear that if he were any ordinary citizen he would be facing a variety of criminal charges.

But the damage has not been confined to Lance. In order to defend himself against the charge that he withheld information from the Senate committee during its hearings on his

confirmation, Lance had to accuse the committee itself of lying.

In his opening statement to the Senate committee on September 15, Lance insisted that during the confirmation proceedings, "... I disclosed to the representatives of this committee the various financial matters which now are the focus of this hearing."

Sen. Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) replied by saying, "I only hope we don't get into a trial of the Senate. That won't do you or the Senate any good."

Neither Lance nor Javits appeared eager to follow up on this line of argument, one that has also been neglected in the capitalist media.

While Lance and his Senate opponents were scoring points against each other, the White House joined the fray with a move that provoked comparisons of Carter and Nixon.

White House press secretary Jody Powell made an inept attempt to take the heat off Lance and the Carter administration by spreading rumors about Sen. Charles Percy (R-Ill.), one of Lance's chief critics.

Powell called up a Washington re-

porter with the claim that Percy, "the sanctimonious S.O.B.," was himself guilty of using a company plane for personal use without paying for it—one of the charges against Lance.

Carter was forced to deny that he was keeping an "enemies list," and he met with Republican senators to deny rumors that the White House was keeping dossiers on some members of Congress. The president didn't say whether his administration was keeping dossiers on less exalted opponents.

Noting that he had found Powell's attempted dirty trick "embarrassing," Carter said, "This will bring an additional element or reason for caution on the part of Jody in the future."

It may well be that having been burned, Powell will exercise greater caution in the future. But the attempt to nail Percy shows the real attitude in the Carter White House toward anyone who gets in Carter's way. And if Powell was ready to play Nixon-style dirty tricks against a senator, what would his attitude toward ordinary Americans be?

Meanwhile, the Lance scandal con-

tinues to plague Carter. "After these hearings the chances are he can keep Bert Lance in town, for at least a while," Carter supporter Anthony Lewis wrote in the September 19 *New York Times*. "But in the long run, and probably not very long, the result will be to swell the public cynicism about government that many of us believed Jimmy Carter would reduce."



LANCE: Tilts with senators

Carter slashes mass transit funds

By Ed Smith

Federal aid to mass transit will be slashed by the Carter administration, according to directives recently released in Washington.

"Officials of the Urban Mass Transit Administration ... have told local officials they may no longer count on Federal aid in building far-flung subways such as San Francisco's Bay Area Rapid Transit or Washington's Metro," the September 13 *New York Times* reported.

A White House official told the *Times*, "We have probably seen the last of the big regional subway projects."

According to the *Times*, the new cutbacks may affect cities that are already building rapid transit systems, including Atlanta, Baltimore, Miami, and Buffalo.

Cities where such plans are in the works will have to "make strong cases to support the need for rail transit." These cities include Honolulu, San Juan, and Detroit.

"Even though the Government has had procedures for requiring localities to justify spending since the passage of the Urban Mass Transit Act in 1964, it is clear that the mass transit agency is assuming a more rigid posture," the *Times* reported.

One local transit authority complained, "We sense that Mr. Carter fully intends to balance his budget, and mass transit just may pay for that budget balancing."

This latest cutback gives the lie to Carter's claim that his energy policy is for the good of working people. As the prices of gasoline and cars spiral up-

ward, working people need more mass transportation and improvements in already existing systems.

Carter's move against rapid transit also casts doubt on his pretense that the country is running out of oil. Electrically run transit systems are the most energy efficient (and least polluting) means of transportation.

The truth is that the energy and automobile trusts stand to profit from the transit cutback. They have conspired for the past five decades to eliminate electric-rail systems and railroad transportation generally in this country. Their goal is to tie Americans down to gas-guzzling cars as their main means of transportation. Carter's slashing of federal aid to mass transit is one more step in this profit-gouging process.

Revolutionary Marxist

By Jim Mack

One of the most important accomplishments of the Socialist Workers Party convention held last month was the culmination of a fusion with the Revolutionary Marxist Committee (RMC). The fusion was greeted with cheers and applause as the party welcomed the forty-five young activists of the RMC into its ranks.

But the significance of this event for the SWP reaches beyond the immediate gain for the party of this group of dedicated revolutionaries. Earlier in their political evolution the RMC had been hostile to the SWP and to the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization. The political evolution they went through, leading finally to the decision to join the party, is symptomatic of changing attitudes toward the SWP among a broader layer of revolutionary-minded people in this country.

The successful fusion, coming after five months of political discussion and collaboration, is also a striking confirmation of the capacity of the SWP to turn toward new openings, to respond positively to leftward moving forces, and to win them to its ranks.

Larry Seigle, who presented the report on the fusion on behalf of the SWP Political Committee, put it this way:

"This fusion, we are confident, will have benefits for us far beyond the immediate increase in our numbers. It will be an example, and an attractive force that can influence others to take similar steps."

"The period we are entering," he predicted, "will see more opportunities like this, more groups of revolutionary-minded people coming from a variety of experiences toward revolutionary politics and the SWP."

Where RMC came from

The RMC had its roots in the International Socialists (IS). This group, now reduced to less than 200 people, combines opportunistic politics with a refusal to defend the Soviet workers state against imperialism.

The IS argues that the Soviet Union is not a workers state. They reject the position of the Trotskyist movement that despite the degeneration of the Russian revolution and the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the nationalized property and planned economy that were the great historic conquests of the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 have not been overturned.

They reject the viewpoint of the Trotskyist movement that it is in the interests of the working class everywhere to defend these gains of the Russian revolution against efforts by imperialism to roll them back, while at the same time fighting against the reactionary bureaucratic caste that is in power in the Soviet Union today.

While continuing to hold the view that the Soviet Union is not a workers state—a position they still maintain today—the RMC comrades began to rebel against the opportunism of the IS. They were also turned off by the internal life of the IS. Groupings inside the organization engage in perennial maneuvering and clique politics, making the IS a jungle of permanent factions.

In reaction against the politics and organizational methods of the IS, the RMC began the rethinking that led them—although not in a straight line—to the fusion with the SWP.

They were part of a split that left the IS in 1973 to form the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL). This group saw itself as being to the left of the IS, more "Trotskyist." It soon spun off into a political orbit around the ultrasectarian Spartacist League.

In his remarks on the fusion to the convention, Bruce Landau, the RMC national secretary, explained: "Unfortunately, the Revolutionary Socialist League majority proved unable to correctly assess the IS's errors. They proposed to correct opportunism simply by turning it upside-down. The result was sheer sectarianism. As revolutionary activists committed to building a real proletarian party, abstentionist sectarianism held no attraction for us."

Shortly after the RSL was formed, it, too, went through a couple of splits. One group, then about twenty-five people, founded the RMC in 1975.

The new organization was made up of two groupings from the old days in the IS, one in Detroit and one in Los Angeles. They decided to concentrate their small forces in one city, so the Los Angeles



Revolutionary Marxist Committee members (standing on right) and convention delegates applaud decision

group packed up and moved to Detroit. Later, they added to their ranks a number of young activists from the Omaha-Lincoln, Nebraska, area.

In his report to the convention, Seigle reviewed the factors that led the RMC to move in the direction of the SWP.

One of these factors was what he referred to as the "changing political map of the left."

"The ultraleft sectarian milieu is degenerating. It isn't growing. This is the result of the absolute incapacity of any of these groups in respond to the new openings in the class struggle—in the unions, in the Black movement, in the women's movement, or anywhere.

"These groups grew during the campus radicalization of the Vietnam War period. But this new stage of the radicalization—class polarization and preparations for coming class battles—has thrown them into a crisis.

"The IS itself just underwent another split last spring. Some of the tiny groups have totally disappeared. The Spartacist League, which has been losing members for some time, has now apparently decided to pull back and concentrate its forces in only a handful of cities. And they are being wracked by an internal debate on Black liberation—the very question that their former Boston organizer, Bob Pearlman, exposed them on so devastatingly in his article 'Spartacist: the Making of an American Sect.'"

Pearlman broke with the Spartacist League over their abstention from the busing struggle in Boston. He is now a member of the SWP.

(His article is available for \$.65 from the SWP National Education Department, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.)

The crisis of sectarian groups is not limited to those who mistakenly consider themselves Trotskyists. Seigle pointed to recent splits in the formerly Maoist Progressive Labor Party and in the Workers World Party, and noted the collapse of attempts to regroup the Maoist currents into one united organization.

He called special attention to a discussion that is beginning to unfold inside the Socialist Labor Party. The SLP, formed a century ago, was the dominant Marxist party in this country at the end of the nineteenth century. Its principal leader, Daniel DeLeon, was one of the great pioneers of Marxism in this country and an intransigent opponent of the right-wing socialists of his day.

Unfortunately, the SLP has followed a policy of standing on the sidelines of the struggles of the working class and the oppressed. Virtually its sole activity has been running socialist candidates for office.

Now, however, young people in the SLP have begun to challenge this sectarianism, and are urging the SLP to get involved in the living struggles going on in the labor movement and among women and the oppressed nationalities. In some cities, this has led to fruitful collaboration with members of the SWP.

In contrast to the crisis facing the sectarian left, the SWP has been growing, at a moderate but steady rate.

"We have been expanding politically and geographically," Seigle said. "We have taken some important initiatives—throwing ourselves into the desegregation fight in Boston and other cities and deepening our involvement in the Black movement, building the antideportation movement, stepping up our women's liberation work, responding to developments in the unions and building our industrial fractions. Our election campaigns, especially the Camejo-Reid campaign in 1976, and the massive publicity about our suit, have further helped to push the party into prominence."

While the RMC was being repelled by the dismal picture of the sectarian groups—the milieu from which they were emerging—they were being attracted to the SWP by its turn toward the new opportunities for revolutionary socialists in the working class and among the most oppressed sections of the class.

At the same time that the RMC members were looking at the SWP in a new light, they were rethinking some of the positions they had shared with other groupings of the sectarian left.

Fight for democratic rights

The hallmark of this milieu is its hostility to all democratic struggles, first and foremost those of women and the oppressed nationalities. In the process of breaking with this approach, the RMC members began to reexamine some fundamental assumptions.

"Looking back on their discussions," Seigle said, "you can see that the major hurdle for the RMC, the key to breaking out of the sectarian straitjacket, was understanding the question of democratic rights and democratic demands, and their central importance for the transitional program and the coming American revolution.

"During this time period the debate was raging throughout the radical movement on Portugal and the role of democratic rights in the Portuguese revolution. The RMCers learned some important lessons from their discussions on Portugal. They also looked at the struggle of oppressed nationalities—in the Middle East, in Africa, in Spain—and came to an understanding of the crucial and growing role of the struggle of the oppressed nationalities in the socialist revolution.

"And they began to apply these general conclusions to the struggles in this country. They broke with their hostility to Black nationalism, and began to see more clearly the combined tasks and combined character of the coming American revolution as both a proletarian struggle for power and a struggle for self-determination for America's prison house of oppressed nationalities."

One example of this rethinking was the reversal of the RMC's previous opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment. Until the fall of 1976, the RMC still clung to the reactionary sectarian view that revolutionists should oppose the ERA. This is the

Committee joins SWP



fuse Militant/Lou Howort

position of groups such as the Revolutionary Socialist League, the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, and the pro-Moscow Communist Party, USA.

These groups view the ERA as a bourgeois scheme to divide the working class, promote illusions in capitalism, and deny protective legislation benefits to women.

In an article in the RMC discussion bulletin urging support for the ERA, Shelley Kramer, one of the central RMC leaders, argued that "we do not abstain from democratic and reform struggles which may temporarily raise illusions in bourgeois democracy or in the capitalist state or which have attracted bourgeois support. Such a motive for abstention puts the cart before the horse, insisting on a simon pure revolutionary struggle as the basis for revolutionary intervention. . . . We do not believe the greatest danger is the spreading of illusions through democratic struggles. We believe the greatest danger is the preservation of the status quo and the defeat of these struggles."

Kramer pointed out that adopting the right position on the ERA was essential if the RMC was going to get involved in the women's liberation movement.

Similar advances were made on questions such as affirmative action, abortion rights, and busing.

Convergence of views

As this process continued, the RMC found its views coinciding more and more with those of the SWP.

"Of course," Seigle noted, "their convergence with our line didn't develop smoothly. They began this whole process without questioning at all the commonly held view of the SWP in the sectarian circles: that we are hopeless opportunists. They went through a psychological process that often occurs in politics—the more they were attracted to us politically, the more forcefully they felt the need to denounce us, to draw a sharp line between us, lest they themselves be seduced by the great devil of revisionism."

"But that was only a passing stage in the process. The comrades of the RMC showed the capacity to abandon wrong positions and embrace new ones, to learn from discussions—and, above all, to learn from and respond positively to developments in the class struggle."

At a conference in March of this year the RMC voted to pursue fusion discussions with the SWP. The SWP responded by proposing a period of discussion and collaboration in action to test how far the agreement between the two groups went.

Collaboration was begun on the *Militant* circulation drive, on support to the Trudy Hawkins campaign for mayor of Detroit, on activity in support of the Student Coalition Against Racism, on women's liberation activity, and on work in the United Auto Workers union. At the same time, SWP leaders went to Detroit to give classes to the RMC membership and answer their questions on a series of political topics.

In the course of this work, the differences continued to narrow. As the members of the RMC and the SWP got to know each other better, and worked shoulder to shoulder in common work, the perspective of fusion assumed more and more immediacy.

At a conference in July, the RMC voted unanimously to fuse with the SWP. Around the same time, the SWP Political Committee decided to recommend to the party that the fusion take place at the upcoming convention.

By the time of the convention, the RMC members found themselves in basic agreement with the general line of the SWP resolution entitled "Prospects for Socialism in America," which had been adopted in 1975. This document, part of the unbroken continuity of the SWP's program and line of march, outlines the party's strategic approach for the whole period ahead. (It is available for \$2.95 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.)

The RMC's fraternal delegation voted unanimously for the general line of each of the reports to the convention.

Difference on state capitalism

There is one area, however, where a major difference exists and has not changed. The RMC continues to hold the view that the Soviet Union and all other workers states—including Cuba, China, and the countries of Eastern Europe—are capitalist countries. In their view, the Soviet workers state was destroyed prior to the Second World War.

In this, they disagree with the position of the SWP and of the Fourth International, and with the position Trotsky maintained until his death in 1940.

In his report, Seigle outlined the views of the SWP on this important difference, and explained what it meant for the fusion proposal.

"This is not just a theoretical difference," he explained. "It has fundamental political ramifications. The RMC comrades are not for the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. In the event of an attack by NATO, led by American imperialism, against the Warsaw Pact countries, they would reject the defense of the workers states. And this is not just a question of what position to take in the event of such an attack—it comes up every day. It affects our stance toward Carter's escalation of the arms race, toward developments in Eastern Europe, in China, and Cuba."

"I should add that in the case of Cuba, China,

Vietnam, and other countries of the colonial world, our differences in terms of political stand narrow because the RMCers view the defense of these countries—which they consider capitalist semicolonies—against imperialism to be an elementary duty of revolutionists.

"The 'Russian Question' is not a new question," he continued. "In one form or another it goes back to the very origins of Soviet power, when anarchists and other ultralefts refused to recognize that a workers state had been established at all."

"This debate continued through the rise and consolidation of power by the Stalinist bureaucracy, when ultraleft and sectarian and opportunist currents concluded that there was nothing left to defend in the Soviet Union. They were answered systematically and repeatedly by Trotsky throughout the 1930s."

"This question was expressed once again in the retreat of the petty-bourgeois opposition in the SWP under the pressure of U.S. imperialism as the American rulers prepared for World War II, and their split from the party and the Fourth International in 1940."

The group that split, whose most prominent figure was Max Shachtman, moved steadily to the right after 1940. The Shachtmanites maintained an independent organization until 1958, when they dissolved into the Socialist Party, the American social-democratic formation.

'The question of the revolution'

Seigle quoted from Jim Cannon, the central leader of the SWP, in the debate with the Shachtmanites. The question of the defense of the Soviet workers state is so important, Cannon explained, "because it is nothing less than the question of the revolution" itself.

"We are, in fact," said Cannon, "the party of the Russian revolution. We have been the people, and the only people, who have had the Russian revolution in their program and in their blood. That is also the main reason why the Fourth International is the only revolutionary tendency in the whole world. A false position on the Russian question would have destroyed our movement as it destroyed all others."

Does this difference on state capitalism mean that the fusion proposal should be rejected? "No."

Continued on next page

Our party is your party

Prospects for Socialism in America

Jack Barnes, Mary-Alice Waters, Tony Thomas, Barry Sheppard, and Betsey Stone



This book contains the main political resolution adopted at the 1975 SWP convention, as well as important related materials. The 1975 resolution laid the basis for the discussions that you've read about in the above article on this year's convention. *Militant* readers interested in learning more about the SWP can order this book by filling out and sending in the coupon on the right.

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...fusion

Continued from preceding page

That would be foolish sectarianism on our part," Seigle said.

"We don't think the state capitalist theory and the political positions that flow from it constitute an absolute barrier to membership in the party. Not if the comrades from the RMC understand and agree that they have to put these positions aside while they build the SWP on the basis of the party's program, including the defense of the workers state. They have to be willing to say that our difference on state capitalism, important as it is, is not as important as our agreement on other questions. And this the RMC comrades understand and agree with.

"In taking this stand, we are simply restating what we have said before. In 1940, after the majority had politically defeated the opposition on the Russian question, the majority appealed to the minority to stay in the party, to function as loyal members despite their disagreement. This was rejected, because the opposition then—unlike the RMC today—was hell-bent on a course away from revolutionary politics. Today the RMC is moving in the opposite direction."

The criterion that ought to be used, Seigle said, in judging whether the fusion is possible is whether or not there is agreement on the major political tasks of the party and on substantial programmatic points. "Not agreement on everything. We are not a monolithic party. We do not have unanimous agreement on every point. We have a live internal existence, of discussion, of clarification of views, and above all, of the testing of ideas against real events."

"We can say that we look forward to a discussion on state capitalism at the appropriate time within the movement," Seigle said. "We think it will be an educational one, not just for the minority but for the entire party. We will all learn from it."

"Our goal," Seigle explained, "is to integrate the

RMCers into every area of party activity, and at all levels in the party."

Members of the ex-RMC will be joining branches of the party all across the country. Some will be staying in Detroit. Others will be moving to Pittsburgh, Chicago, New York, Oakland, Los Angeles, Houston, and Morgantown, West Virginia. A number of them will be joining other SWP members working in basic industry, notably steel and auto.

In line with the party's norm of electing leadership bodies that include all points of view within the party, the convention delegates elected three members of the ex-RMC to the party's national committee, the leadership body charged with directing the party's activities between conventions. Two ex-RMCers were also named to the smaller political committee, which is responsible for the week-to-week leadership of the party.

Impact of the fusion

"This fusion will have a big impact," Seigle said. "It will make some waves. It will surprise some people, and it will interest them in the process that is going on. It will cause them to pay attention. And that is all to our advantage."

"This fusion and the discussion it will generate will also cause some people to take a new look at our party, and to consider for the first time that maybe the SWP is the place for them to be. There are tens of thousands of radicalized people who have been involved over a period of time in one or another organization or movement but who have never found a political tendency, a party, that they wanted to devote their lives to."

"This fusion will help us reach some of these people. They will look at the SWP in a new light. Their image of the party will change. They will see us as a party that is growing, that is capable of attracting new forces, of responding to opportunities. And some of them will see the question of their role, their membership in such a party, in a new way."

"We already know how events like this can lead to further opportunities. This whole process really

goes back, in a sense, to the advance the party registered when we won Nancy Fields and Tim Wohlforth to our ranks. These two comrades came to the party after breaking from the Workers League. They were won politically to the SWP.

"And we know that the step Tim and Nancy took and the way the party welcomed them into our ranks had an impact on Bob Pearlman, who watched this unfold as a leader of the Spartacist League—and who then broke with them and joined us. And our success in winning Tim and Nancy, and recruiting Bob, had a big impact on the RMC comrades. They saw the way the party responded, and they were encouraged to take the same course."

"So we have every reason to hope and expect that our recruitment of these forty-five comrades will have a similar impact on others—on an even bigger scale."

"And so we say to the comrades of the RMC—as we hope to be saying to thousands more like them in the future: Welcome to the SWP. Our party is your party!"

Kramer to join 'Militant' staff



Shelley Kramer, twenty-six, will join the *Militant* staff in October. She was a central leader of the Revolutionary Marxist Committee. An experienced journalist,

Kramer will be writing on women's liberation, the labor movement, and other subjects. Along with two other members of the RMC, she was elected to the SWP National Committee at the party's recent convention.

To keep up our on-the-spot reports...

The desegregation struggle in Chicago is heating up. You wouldn't know it if you only read the big-business press, which has buried the Chicago story in the back pages.

But what's happening in Chicago is front-page news for Blacks, Latinos, and other supporters of busing. And that's why it's big news in the *Militant*.

When the racists escalated their violence in Chicago, the *Militant* responded by immediately flying staff

writer Peter Seidman to cover the story. Seidman knows the issues firsthand, as a previous organizer of the probusing movement in Boston in 1974 and 1975.



PETER SEIDMAN

Beginning with this issue, Seidman will be filing on-the-scene reports of what it's like for young Blacks to run the gauntlet of racists every morning at the schools . . . interviews with the students and others from the Black community . . .



NANCY COLE

reports of what civil rights leaders, unions, and others are saying needs to be done . . . how the Democrats who run Chicago's city hall are fronting for the antibusing forces. . .

We can only bring you this kind of first-hand coverage if we have the funds. It takes hundreds of dollars each time we send a reporter out to get the stories no one else is printing. But it's worth every cent.

That's one reason why we're appealing to you, our readers, to contribute to the *Militant* \$50,000 Fund. We cannot continue to bring you the news, and

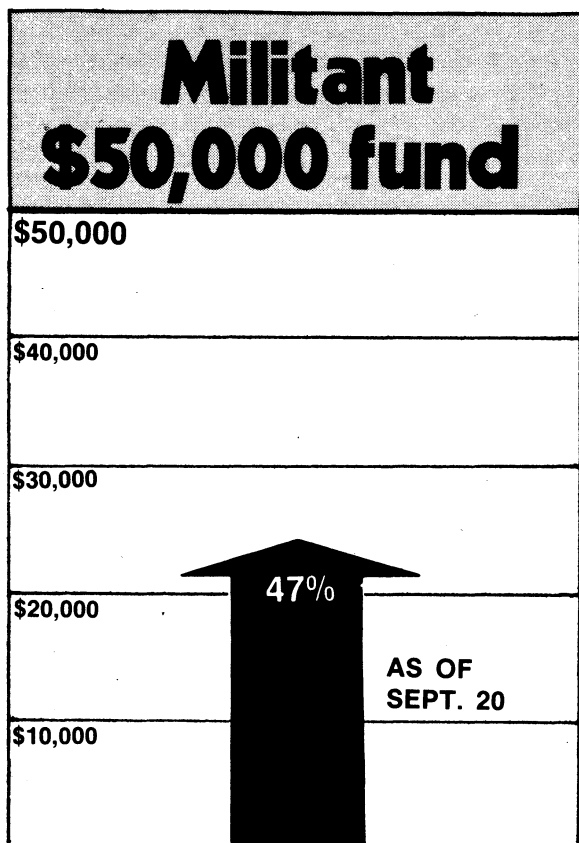
catch up with skyrocketing postage and printing costs, unless we raise \$50,000 this fall.

Because of the generosity of our readers thus far, we were able to send staff writer Nancy Cole to West Virginia recently to talk with the miners who have been on strike.

This fall, events in the coalfields may move quickly, as the mineowners intensify their attacks on the United Mine Workers. We want the *Militant* to be there, reporting the miners' side of the story.

Since last week, \$5,062 in contributions to the *Militant* \$50,000 Fund have come in from readers. We have now collected \$23,699 in all, bringing us up to 47 percent of our goal.

Because of the special pledge of one supporter, the money you contribute will be matched up to a total of \$10,000. The Matching Fund means that if you send us \$25, another \$25—or \$50 total—goes to the *Militant*; if you send us \$100, it means \$200 to continue our work.



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...the Militant needs your donations

What strategy for Black political action?

By Omari Musa

The New York City primary elections produced a big fallout in the city's Black community.

Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton, who is Black, finished fourth in a field of seven mayoral candidates in the Democratic Party primary. He carried only 64 percent of the Black vote.

Sutton's choice to replace him as Manhattan borough president, David Dinkins, was also defeated, ending the hold of Black Democrats on that post.

Sutton's defeat produced a spate of



Robert Des Verney, SWP candidate for New York City comptroller.

secret meetings of the city's Black Democrats to discuss which racist to support in the runoff—Mario Cuomo, the handpicked candidate of New York Gov. Hugh Carey, or U.S. Rep. Edward Koch.

The Black Democrats split. Some such as Brooklyn Rep. Shirley Chisholm and the *Amsterdam News* supported Koch. Others such as State Sen. Vander Beatty endorsed Cuomo. And Al Vann, head of the Black and Puerto Rican Caucus, refused to endorse either Koch or Cuomo, while urging Black people "to vote and make their choice on whatever basis is available to them."

Percy Sutton did not endorse either of his former "opponents."

No confidence in 'leaders'

This crisis among Black Democrats is not simply a function of Sutton's defeat. It comes in the context of growing frustration and disillusionment in the Black community with their "leadership," who have displayed a total inability to halt the attacks on the hard-won gains of Blacks.

Unemployment reached new heights this summer, climbing above an "official" 14 percent nationally. In New York City unemployment among Black youth soared to a staggering 86 percent!

Rent-gouging slumlords reap huge profits on dilapidated housing. When the buildings cease being profitable, some endanger the lives of the occupants by burning them down for insurance.

Cutbacks in social services continue unabated, and the educational system continues to gear Blacks into dead-end jobs at best or, more often, unemployment.

The "blackout rebellion" July 13-14, which shook all the Black Democrats, showed the depth of frustration and anger caused by these conditions within the Black community.

Reactions to crisis vary

Two important reactions to the conditions in the Black community and Sutton's defeat have come out since the primary.

The first is the call by the *Amsterdam News* in a September 17 editorial for a "summit conference of leaders from all segments of the black community in New York City."

The second is Percy Sutton's announcement that he is forming a "Black political party."

Sutton made the announcement at a joint news conference with defeated mayoral candidates Bella Abzug and Herman Badillo.

The purpose of the party, Sutton told the *New York Daily News*, "will be to unify blacks, elect candidates and deal with civil rights and social issues."

The initial response of some Black Democrats was less than enthusiastic. Basil Paterson, a former vice-chairperson of the Democratic Party National Committee, "declined to comment."

Harlem Democratic Rep. Charles Rangel said, "I think 'party' is a rather harsh word, but there's no question there's a need for a mobilization of all political groups."

Brooklyn city councilman Samuel Wright said that "the issue was never discussed with me." Wright said he understood that Sutton was disappointed that he lost the Democratic Party primary, but "there are Black Democrats, even though many people don't consider them 'real Democrats.'"

Socialist candidate responds

One Black candidate did express support for a Black party.

The September 17 *Amsterdam News* reported that Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York City comptroller Robert Des Verney "announced his support for the formation of an independent Black Political Party."

"President Carter has shown that the Democratic party will not live up to its promises to the Black community," Des Verney said.

"We must break with the parties of big business, the Democratic and Republican parties, and form an independent political party that will fight for

the needs of Blacks—jobs at union-scale wages, enforcement of affirmative action guidelines, full Medicaid funding for abortion, decent housing, efficient and cheap mass transportation."

Des Verney also supported the call by the *Amsterdam News* for a conference of the Black movement.

Earlier, the paper had criticized a meeting of civil rights leaders and members of the Congressional Black Caucus held at the end of August.

In a September 3 editorial the *News* editors took issue with the narrowness of the meeting. They objected that only "name" figures and "personalities" who reflect "a stereotyped view of 'leadership' that we can no longer afford to hold" had been invited to attend.

The September 17 editorial suggested a broader conference that would "draw up an agenda of top priority concerns for the black community and a structure to carry them out."

The editorial continued, "We can no longer afford to merely be responding to crises created by the decisions of white dominated institutions. We need to take the initiative in articulating our goals and in mobilizing for their achievement."

Des Verney said he welcomed the call by the *Amsterdam News* for a



Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton.

strategy meeting of the Black community.

"What we need," Des Verney said in a recent news release, "is a conference to discuss how to organize against the attacks on the standard of living of the Black community."

Such a conference should include unemployed Black youth, Black student organizations, Black women's groups, political organizations, Black caucuses, and groups in the unions as well as the civil rights organizations.

"The more representative the conference is of the Black community," Des Verney continued, "the better we will be able to map out a strategy of action to mobilize the Black community."

Des Verney pointed to the *Bakke* case as an issue of serious importance

for the Black community: "One of the most serious assaults against Black rights is the racist attempt to turn back affirmative action, focused on the *Bakke* case soon to be heard by the U.S. Supreme Court. The Carter administration has come down against quotas to enforce affirmative action."

"A conference of the Black community," Des Verney said, "would have the authority to call a national march on Washington demanding the *Bakke* decision be overturned."

Time to march

Des Verney said the same approach could be used to fight unemployment.

"The Bureau of Labor Statistics told us in the Black community what we already knew: unemployment among Blacks is steadily increasing."

"The *Amsterdam News* has called on the Congressional Black Caucus to stop limiting itself 'to verbal accusations and demands' upon the Carter administration. The *News* says, 'Perhaps it is time to go back to the streets. Perhaps it is time for the caucus to call for a second March on Washington to bring hundreds of thousands of citizens into the capital to make clear to the Carter administration our anger and concern over the plight of the Black jobless.'"

"I think it is time to go to the streets," Des Verney continued. "What better way to organize a March on Washington than to have a conference of the Black movement discuss and decide how to mobilize the Black community to demand jobs?"

Des Verney said that a call for a March on Washington from a Black conference in New York would get a big response across the country. He noted that jobs and affirmative action are central issues in the Black community but not the only ones.

"Such a conference," he said, "could discuss such things as how we are going to win the fight for desegregated schools; how to defend abortion rights currently under attack through the Hyde amendment; how to end forced sterilization; how to halt imposition of the death penalty; how to stop cuts in child-care services; and how to stop U.S. cooperation with the white minority regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)."

Why a Black party

"As we organize these struggles," Des Verney said, "it will become clear for many that we can't fight the policies and actions of the government in the streets one day and then turn around and vote for the parties that run the government—the Democrats and Republicans—the next."

A discussion of what kind of Black political action is needed, Des Verney suggested, should be at the top of the

Continued on page 30

San Diego SWP wins disclosure exemption

By Jan Gangel

SAN DIEGO—San Diego Socialist Workers Party candidates for city council will not have to disclose the names of their financial contributors to city authorities, a state superior court judge ruled in a preliminary injunction handed down September 8.

The socialist candidates, Richard Lesnik for city council District 3 and Antonio González for District 1, are suing for a permanent injunction against the city attorney and district attorney, prohibiting them from prosecuting the SWP for failure to disclose contributors' names. The socialists are being represented by American Civil Liberties Union lawyers Judith Leland and Philip Conor.

Judge Alfred Lord's ruling explained that "the Socialist Workers Party . . . has been subject to harassment by government officials and private individuals, and their constitutional rights as a minority party must be protected."

The legal requirement to disclose contributors'

names was a major stumbling block to fund raising, Lesnik said. "Many supporters of the socialist campaign are hesitant to be publicly known because of harassment by the police and FBI," he said.

Meanwhile, the state legislature overturned a law that permitted the California Fair Political Practices Commission (FPPC) to exempt parties from disclosing contributors' names. In its place Gov. Edmund Brown signed into law a new bill barring such exemptions.

The FPPC had granted exemptions to SWP candidates in Berkeley and Los Angeles, and had agreed to hear the arguments of the San Diego SWP candidates.

"This preliminary injunction is an important victory," Lesnik said. "We intend to press our fight until Brown's action is overturned and we can participate in election campaigns without fear of harassment."

Stalinists support Panama treaty

By David Frankel

"Panama's Communists, the People's Party of Panama, said Thursday that, while the new U.S.-Panama treaty reflects a progressive trend in international life, 'the accommodations reached to not meet fully the aspirations of the Panamanian people.'"—Daily World, September 9, 1977.

Let's listen to that one again. "The accommodations reached to not meet fully the aspirations of the Panamanian people."

No, they certainly don't. For the Panamanian Stalinists to pose the question in this way is at best weak. But for the American Stalinists in the Communist Party USA to adopt the same stance in their newspaper is to give backhanded endorsement to American imperialism's drive to maintain its stranglehold on Panama.

For seventy-three years the American imperialists have occupied the Canal Zone that cuts Panama in half. This U.S. colonial enclave has been maintained solely by force and the threat of force. If the people of Panama could vote on the question, the 9,000 U.S. troops in their country would be sent packing tomorrow.

But now, say the Stalinists, something new has happened. "... A progressive trend in international life"—the Panama Canal treaty negotiated by Carter—has intervened.

Will the imperialist troops be leaving Panama next week as a result of this "progressive trend in international life"? Will they be leaving next month?

No, the Panamanian people will have to wait a little longer. Twenty-three years, to be exact.

Of course, we were warned that "the accommodations reached do not meet fully the aspirations of the Panamanian people." But where is the "progressive trend"?

Could it be in the "neutrality" clause that gives American imperialism the right to intervene in Panama even after the year 2000?

Dean Rusk and Henry Kissinger, two of the prime architects of the Vietnam War, thought the clause was progressive indeed. According to a report in the September 15 *New York Times* on their testimony before the House International Relations Committee:

"Mr. Rusk and Mr. Kissinger were emphatic in saying that the separate 'neutrality' treaty would give the United States a stronger position from which to help protect the canal indefinitely than that provided by the 1903 pact under which the canal was built."

Although Rusk and Kissinger didn't spell it out, when they talk about intervention to "protect" the canal, the potential threat they are looking ahead to is the Panamanian people. From their point of view, the "neutrality" of the canal would be endangered by any social upheaval in Panama.

Isn't all this obvious enough to the Stalinist leaders who have endorsed the "progressive" and "positive" aspects of the treaties and who call for their approval?

Yes, they know all this. But they are supporting the "progressive" dictatorship of Panamanian Gen. Omar Torrijos, who has staked his prestige on the treaties. Torrijos follows a diplomatic policy favorable to the Soviet regime. As far as the Stalinists are concerned, that is a good deal more important than the needs and aspirations of the Panamanian people.



Torrijos, hailed by Stalinists as 'progressive' dictator, gives Carter an 'abrazo.'

New committee defends Palestinian human rights

By David Frankel

Today, the Israeli state is more isolated than at any time in its history.

- Zionism has been characterized as a form of racism by the United Nations General Assembly.

- Israeli occupation forces on the West Bank have demonstrated the character of their rule by repeatedly shooting down unarmed Palestinian protesters.

- Inside the pre-1967 borders of Israel, where civil rather than military rule prevails, Palestinians peacefully protesting the confiscation of their land were attacked by police and soldiers in March 1976. Six were killed.

- Increasingly close economic and military ties between Israel and the apartheid regime in South Africa have further confirmed the affinity of these two colonial-settler states. Menachem Begin, the newly elected prime minister of Israel, is the head of the Israel-South African Friendship Society.

The latest blot on Israel's reputation came this June, when the *London Sunday Times* published the results of a five-month inquiry into the use of torture against Palestinian political prisoners in Israel. "Torture of Arab prisoners is so wide-spread and systematic," the *Times* article concluded, "that it cannot be dismissed as rogue cops 'exceeding orders'." It appears to be sanctioned as deliberate policy."

These developments have resulted in growing sensitivity to the issue of Palestinian human rights. Under the slogan "Palestinians have human rights too," the Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC) has begun to bring the injustices done to the Palestinian people before American audiences.

The PHRC's statement of purpose explains, "As Americans opposed to such violations of human rights wherever they occur in the world, we are particularly concerned with those attacks on Palestinian human and national rights carried out by Israel, a regime heavily supported by our own government."

Unlike most other groups concerned with the Middle East, the PHRC takes no political position on how to solve the Arab-Israel conflict. It simply seeks to publicize violations of human rights, to lend support to the victims and their families, and to "secure the enforcement of existing international

ally recognized norms of human rights and fundamental freedoms for the Palestinian people."

This approach, combined with the increasing isolation of the Israeli regime, has enabled the PHRC to unite a wide spectrum of groups and individuals. Participants in a September 18 PHRC meeting included people from the National Council of Churches, World Peace Council, United Methodist Office for the United Nations, Committee for a Just Peace in the Middle East, Socialist Workers Party, Association of Arab-American University Graduates, Jewish Socialist Community, and Middle East Research and Information Project.

Although formed only this spring, the PHRC has already reprinted in pamphlet form the *London Times* article on torture in Israel. A second piece of literature, "Human Rights & Israel," has also been printed by the PHRC, and the group is putting out a regular Palestine Human Rights Bulletin.

(This material can be ordered from the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, Walnut Bottom, Pennsylvania 17266.)

Currently, the PHRC is organizing a tour of the United States by Dr. Israel Shahak. Shahak, who became an opponent of Zionism as a result of his experiences in the Israeli army during the June 1967 Middle East war, is the chairperson of the Israeli League for Human Rights.

Born in Poland in 1933, Shahak spent his childhood in the Warsaw Ghetto and the Nazi concentration camp of Bergen Belsen. He emigrated to Palestine in 1945.

Shahak's speaking tour coincides with that of Lea Tsemel. Tsemel, a native of Israel, has become one of the most prominent lawyers in the country as a result of her defense of Palestinian political prisoners.

Unable to refute her accounts of torture and frame-up of Palestinian political prisoners, Zionist officials have tried to silence Tsemel. She has already been barred from practicing law before military courts under the pretext that she could cause "serious harm to the security of the state."

In fact, the only "harm" that the Israeli regime fears is the truth. From that point of view, the tours by Shahak and Tsemel and the activities of the PHRC indeed have the potential of doing "serious harm" to Zionism.

State Department stalls

Open the door for Blanco!

By Beverly Crain

"Unfortunately, the McCarran Act provides resourceful State Department functionaries with countless excuses for barring the country's door to anyone they consider unsavory," editorialized the September 24 *Nation*.

"It would appear that their first victim [since the recently passed McGovern amendment] is to be Hugo Blanco, the well-known Peruvian peasant leader." The McGovern amendment urges a more liberal visa policy.

The State Department continues to stall on Blanco's visa. Blanco was to have arrived in this country September 9 for a three-month speaking tour and to meet with his U.S. publisher, Pathfinder Press. Blanco was exiled twice from Peru and now lives in Sweden.

Blanco has been declared ineligible for a visa, but the State Department has yet to rule on his request for a waiver. Peruvian desk officer Alexander Fuller says that department now has the information it claims necessary to make a decision, and that it should come "soon."

After that, Fuller says, the case goes to the Justice Department, where officials will unquestionably stall some more.

Pathfinder and Blanco's tour cosponsor, the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, are urging supporters of civil liberties to send message to both the State Department and Justice Department demanding that a visa be granted Blanco immediately.

Lloyd Dewitt, chief of public services for the State

Department's visa office, admits that he has a "long list" of inquiries and protests about Blanco's visa that he has to answer once the decision is made.

The 1952 McCarran Act bars anyone from the United States who is or was at any time connected with socialist, communist, or anarchist groups. The McGovern amendment to the State Department Authorization Bill, signed this August, urges that visas be granted to persons previously excluded under these provisions of the McCarran Act.

But the State Department has dredged up still another section of the thought-control act, charging Blanco may be ineligible for a visa because of "moral turpitude."

"Once again, then, the State Department is arbitrarily using the McCarran Act to censor—with paternal concern for our 'best interests'—the political views we are allowed to hear," wrote the *Nation's* editors.

"Someone at Foggy Bottom would do well to ponder what this will say to the world about American self-confidence—and about our compliance with the Helsinki Accords," the magazine concluded.

Telegrams demanding a visa for Blanco should be sent to: Hon. Cyrus Vance, Secretary of State, Washington, D.C. 20520; and to: Hon. Griffin Bell, Attorney General, Washington, D.C. 20530.

Copies should be sent to: U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

Steve Biko

South African police claim another victim

By Ernest Harsch
From Intercontinental Press

Steve Biko, one of the most influential young Black leaders in South Africa, died in police custody September 12, according to a government announcement the following day. The racist Vorster regime claimed that Biko, who was only thirty years old, had died after a one-week hunger strike.

As a founder and central figure of the militant Black Consciousness movement, Biko helped inspire an entire generation of young Blacks to stand up and oppose South Africa's racist system of apartheid. The news of his death came as a shock to Blacks throughout the country and led to a new wave of protest against the white minority regime.

Within hours of the announcement, about 400 Blacks and whites gathered at an impromptu memorial service in Johannesburg. Speakers condemned the regime's repressive laws, such as the one under which Biko had been held, that provide for indefinite detention without trial. As the service ended, Blacks in the audience shouted "Amandla!" (power).

The Black People's Convention (BPC), of which Biko was honorary president, issued a statement calling South Africa "a violent police state." And in response to the regime's explanation of Biko's death, it declared, "Death in detention can never be . . . explained in natural terms." On September 15, Moki Ceikisani, the president of the BPC, was arrested by security police.

The same day, the entire student body rallied at the all-Black University of Fort Hare, which Biko had once attended, to commemorate his death. The 1,500 mourners were dressed in black and sang Black freedom songs.

Armed riot police rushed to the campus with attack dogs. Declaring the rally illegal, they arrested more than 1,200 participants. As the arrested students were driven away in a fleet of police trucks, they gave clenched-fist Black power salutes.

By September 16, the protests and memorial meetings had spread to university campuses in every major city in the country. A mass funeral march has been scheduled for September 25 in Biko's home city, Kingwilliamstown. Soweto student leaders announced that a memorial demonstration would be held in Soweto as well.

One factor fueling the unrest over Biko's death has been Pretoria's contradictory claims and its refusal to allow an independent inquiry.

In the regime's initial version of Biko's death, Justice Minister James T. Kruger claimed that Biko began a hunger strike on September 5 while in prison in Port Elizabeth. Although Biko had been in good health at the time of his arrest August 18, Kruger claimed that he "appeared to be unwell" on September 11 and was taken to a hospital in Pretoria, where he died the next day.

On September 17, however, Kruger admitted for the first time that there may have been "irregularities" in the police handling of the case. With the apparent aim of setting up some scapegoats, he said that "heads may roll" in the police force after an investigation of Biko's death.

A teacher in Soweto with close ties to the Black student leaders there was quoted in the September 15 *New York Times* as saying, "I haven't met anybody who believes for one moment that he [Biko] would starve himself to death."

In light of the Vorster regime's known brutality against Black politi-



BIKO: Vorster's police claimed he starved to death after one week

cal prisoners and the death in detention of more than twenty Black activists over the past year, prominent Black figures charge that Biko may have died as a result of torture inflicted by the security police.

These charges were reinforced September 18 when Donald Woods, the editor of the East London *Daily Dispatch*, revealed that he had seen injuries on Biko's body that could have been caused by a beating.

In an interview published in the September 17 *New York Times*, Prime Minister John Vorster tried to play down Biko's importance, stating that "this matter has been blown up out of all proportion." But the very fact that the regime has felt compelled to engage in elaborate explanations is itself testimony to Biko's prominent role as a leader of the Black freedom struggle.

A former student at the Natal University Medical Faculty and the University of Fort Hare, Biko played a key role in the founding in late 1968 of the militant South African Students Organisation, of which he was elected its

first president. As a leader of the Black student movement, he helped formulate the ideas of the nationalist current known as Black Consciousness, which stresses Black dignity and self-reliance and opposition to all forms of white oppression. It was these ideas that helped inspire the students in Soweto to launch mass protests against the apartheid regime last year.

In 1972, Biko helped establish the Black People's Convention, which is now one of the most important Black political organizations in the country. The following year he was banned (a form of house arrest). Although this prevented him from carrying out open political activities, he was named honorary president of the BPC.

After the beginning of the mass Black upsurge in Soweto in June 1976, Biko was arrested under the notorious Terrorism Act, which provides for indefinite detention without trial or access to a lawyer.

Following his arrest, correspondent John Burns published a report in the September 19, 1976, *New York Times* based on an interview with him. Biko criticized the talks going on at the time between Vorster and Secretary of State Kissinger and demanded that Washington ban any further American investments in South Africa and force the more than 300 U.S. companies now operating there to pull out.

"He made it clear," Burns wrote, "that a government formed around the black-consciousness groups would follow a policy of black socialism, placing severe restraints on private enterprise and sharply cutting, if not eliminating, foreign investment."

Biko was released from prison after more than three months but was detained again August 18. According to Kruger, he was arrested under the Terrorism Act for the "compilation and distribution of written material propagating violence and arson."

The real reason was that his ideas represented a danger to the continued maintenance of white supremacy and all the injustices that accompany it. But his death cannot stop the spread of those ideas. Nor will it lessen the determination of South Africa's twenty-one million Blacks to rid their country of the barbaric system of apartheid.



'As a founder of the militant Black Consciousness Movement, Biko helped inspire an entire generation of young Blacks.'

Workers protest skyrocketing prices

24-hour general strike shakes Colombia

By Eduardo Medrano
From Intercontinental Press

Armored units of the army and police clashed violently with workers and students in Bogotá and other Colombian cities on September 14.

The progovernment Bogotá newspapers *El Tiempo* and *El Espectador* reported on September 15 that ten deaths, an "indeterminate" number of civilian injuries, twenty-five police injuries, and an "incalculable amount of damage to automobiles, buildings, and commercial establishments" in Bogotá had occurred.

Other sources said that there were at least fifty deaths, hundreds of injuries, and that 4,000 persons have been detained. To prevent word from getting out on the real number of deaths, the army replaced the judicial police deputies, who are ordinarily in charge of removing corpses, by "judges" belonging to the military.

The incidents occurred as the government sought to crush a twenty-four-hour general strike called by the four trade-union federations¹ and the country's largest independent unions.

Barricades go up

In the first few hours, barricades were set up in the working-class neighborhoods of the south, west, and northwest. Dispatches from Bogotá reported sustained rock-throwing, train derailments, and looting of stores and factories. Even though the capitalist dailies described the upsurge as "acts of vandalism . . . committed by adolescents . . . between twelve and fifteen years old," the brutal unleashing of the repressive forces against these "adolescents" indicated that what was in-

1. Unión de Trabajadores de Colombia (UTC—Union of Colombian Workers), the country's largest trade-union federation, with around 800,000 members in twenty federations. Its leaders follow the line of the Conservative Party.

Confederación Sindical de Trabajadores de Colombia (CSTC—General Trade-Union Federation of Colombian Workers), the second largest trade-union federation. It has around 400,000 members grouped in ten federations, and is led by the Communist Party.

Confederación de Trabajadores de Colombia (CTC—Confederation of Colombian Workers) has around 300,000 members in seventeen federations. Its leaders are tied to the Liberal Party.

Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT—General Confederation of Labor) orients to the Christian Democrats and has 120,000 members grouped in five federations.

involved was a genuine mass uprising.

El Tiempo, for example, admitted in its September 15 issue that "800 men from the Baraya and Bogotá battalions converged" on a glazed-tile factory that was being "looted."

In the El Encanto district, *El Tiempo* continued, the skirmishes were so intense that "the disturbances continued for more than three hours. Neither the police nor the army dared enter the main street. Toward noon, a police action succeeded in reestablishing relative calm."

The "police action" could not have been anything other than the cowardly machine-gunning of the demonstrators in cold blood by the combined forces of the army and police. All the hospital reports indicate that the civilians killed and injured had received bullet wounds. While there were no indications in the press that the workers were armed, it is obvious in any case that the military detachments were ready to kill.

In the south of Bogotá, in order to retake only one of the access routes to the center, "various army trucks and armored police units" sent out "lightning squads," *El Tiempo* reported. In many cases, the troops, who were armed to the teeth, vented their rage on unarmed students. According to *El Tiempo*, an army patrol had to make use of "all its military strategy" to occupy a small hill and dislodge a "genuine 'nest' of rebels" who were holding a small fortress . . . with stones.

El Espectador on September 15 referred to mob attacks on three police headquarters, adding that the official sources did not give "details on the way in which such a thing could have happened."

Strike paralyzes Bogotá

The visible eagerness of government representatives to play down the bloody character of their response could only increase the suspicion that the work stoppage was a fact throughout the country, and that it was accompanied by a healthy dose of working-class and popular radicalization. In Bogotá, the main area of working-class concentration, public and private transportation ground to a halt in the first few hours. The largest skirmishes occurred precisely in the working-class neighborhoods and the areas where the major factories in Bogotá are located.

The center of the city was also paralyzed. The bosses' dailies said that



Bogotá policeman attacks striker

very early on the day of the strike, it looked like New Year's Day in the city, and that by two o'clock in the afternoon, the offices were empty. Even those factories that did not strike in the morning did so by three or four o'clock in the afternoon.

That evening, President Alfonso López Michelsen went on television. He lamented the fact that "no fewer than eight commercial establishments have been looted; there have been some deaths, attempted arson, train derailments . . . all of which proves unequivocally that we have gone beyond the stage of a labor issue, and that what is involved is a matter of public order."

On the following day, the newspapers brazenly ran headlines announcing that "the strike has failed."

The absurdity of such an "analysis of the results of the general strike" was shown the next day, when it was revealed that the television broadcast had not been taped that evening, but rather some time in the afternoon, just when the general work stoppage was at its peak.

The disturbances continued. A UPI dispatch published in the September 16 *New York Times* said that the clashes had continued on September 15, with six more persons killed that day while "thousands of troops in battle gear patrolled the city in jeeps and armored cars."

The New York daily *El Diario* reported September 16 that according to union sources, there were "at least 2,000 prisoners" and that none of the leaders of the strike had been detained.

Background of strike

The present upsurge is the most important event in the last thirty years of Colombian history. In 1948, a semi-insurrection broke out, still remembered as the "Bogotazo." It was the prelude to fifteen years of undeclared civil war directed against the working masses in the cities and in the countryside.

In contrast to the 1948 uprising, the political events of mid-September were not spontaneous. While the former was set off by the assassination of a liberal figure, Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, the latter resulted from the workers' decision to fight to win their own demands.

At a large meeting held August 20 in Bogotá by the planning committee for a citizens' national general strike—which included delegates from the CSTC, the CGT, independent unions, and political groups on the left—representatives of the UTC and CTC declared their willingness to partici-

pate in the twenty-four-hour general strike that the CSTC and CGT federations had been planning since the end of May.

Inaction on the part of the government and the bosses in face of the rapid decline of real wages owing to inflation, which is already up to 41 percent for the past year, was the major reason for organizing the movement. Other issues raised by its organizers were the government's indifference to poverty, hoarding, and uncontrolled speculation in basic necessities; its disregard for the high unemployment rate; its failure to correct the disorganization of the health-care system, public services, and education; and its continuation of the state of siege.

Call for a witch-hunt

The bourgeois press—with the exception of the conservative daily *La República*, which is fiercely opposed to López—spared no efforts in trying to revive old feuds between the trade-union federations, so far without success. They did this to distract, confuse, and intimidate public opinion with regard to the general strike.

El Tiempo, the most important mouthpiece of the ruling class, devoted its editorial on September 3 to accusing the trade unions of not listening to the president's arguments because "they don't want to hear," and to calling for a witch-hunt:

It remains to be seen who is pulling the hidden strings of this movement. However, it is logical to assume that working behind the scene—for such has been their time-honored tactic—are those who are trying to upset the stability of the "system," in their pseudorevolutionary jargon.

At 3:00 p.m. in the afternoon of September 14, the leaders of the strike issued a victory message from underground. "Today's events are the trumpet call of tomorrow," they said.

"We will not bow to threats," López said in his speech. Encouraging the bosses to take reprisals against trade-union leaders, he explained:

I hope that all those who were victims of this outrage, to whom the government will, of course, lend a helping hand, will extend themselves to repair the damage that has been done, keeping fully in mind who were the instigators, propagandists, and spokesmen responsible for the damage, injuries, and distress they have suffered.

As is evident, the threat of subversion does not come from the trade unions or from the groups on the left. The main subversive agent resides in the San Carlos palace.



Agricultural workers like these joined industrial workers in Colombia's cities to protest government policies.

Claudio Tavarez arrested

Dominican regime bars 'communist literature'

By Judy White
From Intercontinental Press

Claudio Tavárez, a Dominican teacher prominent in activities to defend democratic rights in his country, was arrested in the Santo Domingo airport September 9 and detained for five days. The secret police held him on charges of possession of "Communist literature."

On September 12 District Attorney Anaiboní Guerrero asked the Second Penal Court to set bail of 200,000 pesos (US\$200,000) for Tavárez, who was formally charged with violating three Dominican anti-Communist statutes—Laws 6, 70, and 71. The "Communist literature" that provided the pretext for the charges was *Perspectiva Mundial*, a Spanish-language fortnightly magazine published in New York. Tavárez was carrying two bundles of the magazine at the time he was detained.

The September 13 issue of the Santo Domingo daily *La Noticia* reported:

The material, designated as subversive by the police, was to be distributed throughout the country with the aim of "introducing a far-reaching plan of agitation, mobilizing the masses of the communist parties, and encouraging the youth to commit disorderly acts directed against public and private property."

In court, Tavárez's attorney, Conrado Cedeño, denounced the charges as a "monstrous piece of judicial nonsense" and demanded that the bail be lowered. One Dominican lawyer said she believed a 200,000-peso bail would be the highest in the country's history.

Judge Sergio Rodríguez Pimentel rejected Guerrero's petition and set bail for Tavárez at 50,000 pesos, which was subsequently obtained to secure his temporary release.

Tavárez is well known as a defender of human rights. Formerly a leading member of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), he is also a member of Amnesty International, and has participated in the work of other civil liberties groups in the United States and the Dominican Republic.

As part of his work with USLA, he headed the task force that helped win the release of Francisco Antonio Santos, Eugenio Pérez Cepeda, Julio de Peña Valdez, and Juan Vargas—four Dominican trade-union leaders—in 1975.

As reported in the Spring 1976 issue of the *USLA Reporter*, the committee's newsletter:

USLA initiated the defense campaign in response to an appeal from the Dominican CGT [Central General de Trabajadores—General Workers Federation] when its central leadership was thrown in prison last summer on charges of "conspiring to overthrow the government." Broad support was won within the U.S. labor movement, with powerful unions like the United Auto Workers and United Mine Workers joining USLA in the campaign. Major unions abroad responded to the CGT's appeal as well.

Tavárez was also instrumental in organizing a fact-finding commission of U.S. and Canadian clergy and civil libertarians to Santo Domingo in September 1975, to investigate the status of human rights on the island. The commission's findings of "widespread repression" received broad coverage in the Dominican press, helping increase pressure for the release of the trade unionists.

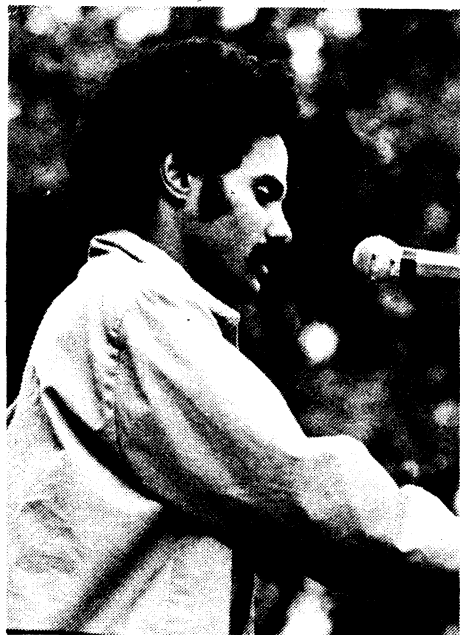
The following month Tavárez was invited to the First Conference for

Trade-Union Freedom in Santo Domingo, to report on activities in the United States in defense of Dominican political prisoners.

Enrique de León and José Díaz, the official distributors of *Perspectiva Mundial* in the Dominican Republic, described the arrest of Tavárez as a "serious violation" of the law of freedom of expression.

Police have threatened "to detain all persons who have in their possession, distribute, or read the magazine," Tavárez told *Perspectiva Mundial* in a telephone interview following his release on bail.

But we will continue to sell the magazine. We will deliver it to the subscribers, and we plan to continue moving forward in increasing sales of the magazine. . . .



Militant/Ellen Lemisch

CLAUDIO TAVAREZ: Forced to put up 50,000 pesos bail for possession of 'subversive' literature.

We have and will continue to exercise our right [to sell *Perspectiva Mundial*] as we have been for the last nine months.

Since it began publication January 24, 1977, *Perspectiva Mundial* has been distributed in thirty countries and in no case has it been ruled "subversive."

Tavárez faces trial in October, and it is feared that other frame-up charges may be introduced at that time. The September 10 issue of *La Noticia*, for example, reported that he had been "studying in a socialist country and returned yesterday to Santo Domingo."

They added, "It has been impossible to establish what socialist country the prisoner was studying in." Perhaps this is because Tavárez pursued his university studies in New York, hardly part of a "socialist country."

In the interview with *Perspectiva*, Tavárez asked that "all those who defend democratic rights and freedom of expression send telegrams to the attorney general and to the president of the republic* protesting my imprisonment and demanding that *Perspectiva Mundial* be declared legal."

He asked that copies of all messages be sent to Enrique de León and José Díaz, Calle Respaldo Proyecto 39, El Portal, Santo Domingo, República Dominicana.

*Anaiboní Guerrero, Fiscal del Distrito Nacional, Palacio de la Justicia de Ciudad Nueva, Santo Domingo, República Dominicana; Presidente Joaquín Balaguer, Palacio Nacional, Santo Domingo, República Dominicana.

World news notes

Pentagon proposes \$398 million in arms sales

Despite President Carter's pledge to reduce military sales abroad, on September 9 the Pentagon asked Congress to approve another \$398 million in arms sales. The weapons and equipment are to go to Iran, Israel, Pakistan, and Britain.

Carter makes an 'exception' for the shah

The Carter administration, which has promised to curb U.S. arms sales around the world, is busy pushing a \$1.2 billion deal involving the shah of Iran. Carter's proposal to sell the Iranian tyrant seven highly advanced radar planes has drawn criticism from Congress. Many on Capitol Hill fear that secret technology used in the planes would not be adequately protected in Iran.

However, expectations are that the deal will go through. The administration has recently promised Congress that the equipment would be safeguarded in Iran and that some of the most secret parts of the system would be withheld.

Carter supporters in Congress explained that the president is not really a merchant of death. His arms deal with one of the world's most notorious torturers, it was noted, was an exception to the general policy of reducing U.S. arms sales.

Portuguese women win an Equal Rights Amendment

An amendment to the Portuguese constitution goes into effect September 19 that, for the first time, gives wives equal rights with their husbands and women the right to be judges. The amendment also removes legal discrimination against children born outside of marriage. Previously wives had to get their husbands' consent to travel abroad and had no right to decide how children should be educated.

East German Stalinists arrest dissident

The German Democratic Republic admitted August 24 that it has arrested Rudolf Bahro, a dissident member of the Communist Party. Bahro is publishing a book, *The Alternative*, critical of the GDR and Soviet Union. Urging a change toward what he describes as true socialism, Bahro criticizes "a deadening bureaucracy bound to destroy its own organism, because it is unable to answer the urgent questions posed by society."

Soviet 'psychiatry' condemned

The general assembly of the World Psychiatric Association passed a resolution September 1 condemning "the abuse of psychiatry for political purposes . . . in all countries in which [it occurs]," with particular reference to "the extensive evidence of the systematic abuse of psychiatry for political purposes in the U.S.S.R."

The WPA also decided to set up a committee to review allegations of such abuse by receiving personal testimony and engaging in on-site inspection.

The resolutions were the result of an international campaign among psychiatrists that began in 1971 when Soviet dissident Vladimir Bukovsky made available to Western psychiatrists copies of case reports on several dissidents confined in Soviet mental institutions. Bukovsky himself had been a victim of Soviet "psychiatry."

Dr. Eduard Babayan, a Soviet delegate to the general assembly, called the resolutions "slander" and blamed the outcome of the vote on a "nondemocratic ballot-counting system."

Will Carter broaden Concorde battle?

While efforts by Air France and British Airways to get the Concorde supersonic jetliner into New York's Kennedy airport remain bogged down in U.S. courts, the Carter administration is getting ready to extend landing rights for the needle-nosed noisemaker to ten more cities.

"Government sources" were cited in September 2 news reports as saying that the Concorde would soon get federal approval for use of all U.S. airports with runways long enough to accommodate it. These would include (in addition to Kennedy, and Dulles airport in Washington, D.C.) Anchorage, Boston, Dallas, Honolulu, Los Angeles, Miami, Houston, Chicago, Seattle, and San Francisco.

The Concorde's sixteen-month period of trial flights into Dulles expires September 24. Carter and a number of top administration officials—including national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski—met August 29 to consider the next steps in dealing with the SST. No official announcement of the results was forthcoming. "The set of options have a secret classification for reasons of national security," Transportation Department official David Jewell told the press.

Carter and his aides apparently fear that adverse action on the Concorde could put wind in the sails of the French Communist Party, which has made enthusiastic backing for the plane part of its campaign for the 1978 elections.

Budget cutting in Australia

A report for the Aboriginal medical service in Sydney, Australia, issued in August, disclosed the following:

More than 25% of Sydney's 6,000 Aboriginal children under five years of age suffer from serious malnutrition. Most of them have permanent brain damage because of undernourishment.

Sixty-four percent are anemic. A total of 60% have parasitic bowel infections, 32% have at least one perforated eardrum, and 20% have been hospitalized more than twice with an average stay of eighty-eight days.

Twenty-seven percent cannot absorb food from milk owing to chronic diarrhea.

The medical service in Redfern, a suburb of Sydney where many of these children live, has received no government funds since May. (London Times, August 12.)

D.C. 'Post' reports continued Angola fighting

By Ernest Harsch
From Intercontinental Press

A year and a half after the end of the Angolan civil war, the fighting in that former Portuguese colony continues.

The ruling MPLA had driven its two main nationalist adversaries, the FNLA and the UNITA,* from all the major cities and towns in early 1976. But it still faces considerable resistance from the UNITA forces, who have conducted military actions throughout much of southern and central Angola.

The first detailed eyewitness account of the UNITA's guerrilla campaign by an American journalist appeared in a series of articles in the August 7-13 issues of the *Washington Post*. Staff writer Leon Dash spent seven and a half months with the UNITA forces, traveling 2,100 miles through Angola. He had previously spent ten weeks with the UNITA in 1973, during its struggle against the Portuguese colonialists.

After entering Angola's Moxico Province from neighboring Zambia on foot in October 1976, Dash visited numerous UNITA camps, some of which were occupied by hundreds of guerrillas. His escort at times numbered up to 100 troops.

Dash witnessed an attack by 250 UNITA soldiers against MPLA forces in the village of Mungo in the central plateau region and counted 1,110 guerrillas returning from another action at Andulo, further north. MPLA prisoners told him of other clashes. And he passed through villages where the inhabitants described recent MPLA attacks, apparently because the villagers were suspected of favoring the UNITA.

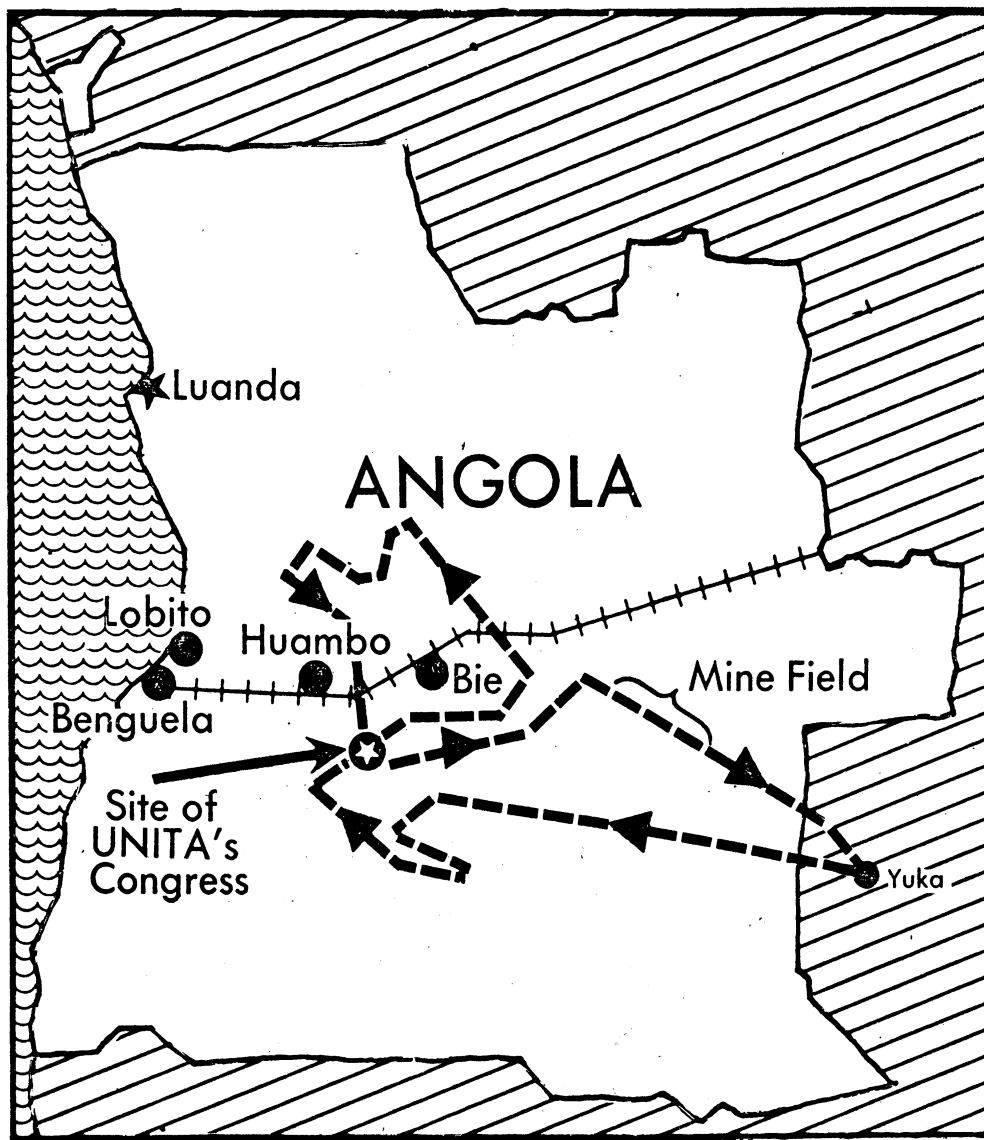
One UNITA leader, Samuel Chiwale, claimed that the group now had 23,000 guerrillas. Dash commented, "From the intensive look that I got at UNITA's operations, Chiwale's claim of 23,000 guerrillas seemed credible."

Dash also noted that the UNITA forces were better armed and trained than when he last visited them in 1973.

Cuban role

UNITA leaders told Dash that after the MPLA's offensive last year, the Cuban troops aiding the MPLA had withdrawn from the countryside to the major cities in the south. Most of the actual counterinsurgency actions are now carried out by the MPLA, they

*Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola); Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (Angola National Liberation Front); União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).



Arrows show reporter's 2,100-mile trip with UNITA guerrillas

Washington Post

said, as well as by the main Namibian nationalist group, the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), which has bases in southern Angola and is allied with the MPLA.

UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi told Dash that the pullback of the Cubans had led to harsher retaliatory actions against the UNITA's civilian supporters by the MPLA and SWAPO. "The Cubans are not so savage and will usually not kill our supporters," he said. "The government soldiers are more savage and the SWAPOs are the most savage."

In addition to the actions that Dash witnessed, the UNITA has claimed that the MPLA bases it recently attacked included those in Perreira d'Eca, Cuangar, Cahira, Nova Sintra, Chipeta, Kamakupa, Cuanza, Chinguar, Kutatu, Vila Nova, Bella Vista, Vila Teixeira da Silva, and Ganda.

Large area occupied

The MPLA regime in Luanda, however, has rarely acknowledged the UNITA's actions, dismissing its forces as "bandits" and ridiculing its claims of controlling much of the countryside in the southern and central provinces. But having visited the area, Dash gained a different impression: "Traveling through five provinces—Moxico, Cuando Cubango, Huila, Bie and Huambo—I concluded that the UNITA guerrillas effectively occupy the southern half of Angola, an area the size of Texas."

One reason for the UNITA's apparent success has been its ability to retain its traditional base of support among the various peoples in the region, particularly among the Ovimbundo, who make up about one-third of Angola's total population.

Dash reported that the UNITA held large and frequent rallies by its peasant supporters. One such rally that he attended in Huambo Province drew several thousand participants.

Dash commented, "Much of the UNITA guerrillas' success in garnering the support of a large number of peasants of southern Angola, where half of the country's more than 5 million population lives, grew out of their ability to meld strong tribal traditions with their modern-day struggle."

Savimbi told him, "True, tribalism is divisionism, but tribal structure is the lifeblood of Africa. You can draw from this structure the will and support of the people."

UNITA's rhetoric

While claiming to be a "socialist," Savimbi employed a blend of anti-Communist and Black nationalist rhetoric in his appeals for support from the Angolan peasantry. At the same time that he attacked what he called "Soviet imperialism" for its aid to the MPLA regime, he condemned MPLA leader Agostinho Neto as being pro-white.

UNITA leaders have pointed to the presence of whites and *mestiços* (Angolans of mixed Portuguese and African ancestry) in the MPLA regime in an effort to play on Black fears and resentments. They view the May coup attempt in Luanda as an expression of such sentiments.

One UNITA commander admitted to Dash that the guerrillas also employed a degree of intimidation to retain support from the peasantry, at times killing villagers who were considered sympathetic to the regime.

In March 1977, Dash attended the UNITA's fourth congress, held in Huambo Province. He reported that it was attended by 1,600 persons, 530 of whom were delegates.

The congress decided to restructure the UNITA's military apparatus, establishing a semiregular army. Savimbi told the participants that the organization had enough weapons to arm three battalions of 500 soldiers each.

In a reversal of its previous stance, the UNITA decided to no longer seek a coalition government with the MPLA. It also rejected a resolution calling for a new alliance with the FNLA.

Savimbi announced at the congress that the UNITA would in the near future establish a "Black African and Socialist Republic of Angola."

UNITA spokesman Jorge Sangumba later revealed that the "republic" would be based mainly south of the eleventh parallel, from the port of Nove Redondo eastward. Paraphrasing Sangumba, the July 25 *West Africa* stated that "the future republic would not constitute a secessionist state, but would aid an eventual unification of the country."

On the UNITA's policy toward imperialist interests in Angola, Savimbi told Dash, "Nationalization would not be my ultimate nor immediate aim. Foreign companies will not bring the technical know-how to Angola without something in return. You must be honest with the company, however, and tell them that the wealth will be returned to the country."

In this respect, the UNITA's approach is little different from that of the MPLA. Although the MPLA uses much "socialist" demagoguery, it continues to allow the major imperialist interests to exploit Angola's vast natural resources, the Gulf Oil fields in Cabinda being the most important.

Also like the MPLA, the UNITA is organized in an authoritarian manner and seeks to keep its supporters in line by intimidation. It is structured in the form of a pyramid, with the lower levels having no control over the higher bodies.

Although the South African troops who intervened in Angola during the civil war provided logistical and other aid to the UNITA, Dash reported no visible signs of any continuing South African assistance. Sangumba, however, has declared that the UNITA would accept further aid from Pretoria.

MPLA charges

The MPLA charges that the UNITA is now collaborating with Pretoria, and that the South Africans have made a number of incursions into southern Angola from their bases in Namibia. If the Vorster regime is in fact still backing the UNITA, it may be partially in an effort to use the Angolan group against SWAPO, which is fighting for Namibia's independence from South African rule.

While the UNITA and SWAPO were at one time allied, Savimbi makes no secret of his current hostility to the Namibian independence organization. "Now," Savimbi told Dash, "we will never let them [SWAPO] operate against the South Africans in Namibia again. Never! Not unless we are defeated."

Such a position can only aid the South African imperialists in their campaign to retain control of the mineral-rich country. If the UNITA forces are successful in obstructing SWAPO's efforts to free Namibia, it would be a stab in the back to the Namibian independence movement and would set back the Black freedom struggle throughout southern Africa.

Savimbi is also apparently expecting Washington and other imperialist powers in Europe to resume aid to the UNITA at some point in the future. "The Russians think they will expand throughout the South African subcontinent . . .," he told Dash. Then referring to Paris, London, and Washington, he concluded, "Geopolitics will force them to come back to me."

Angola

The Hidden History of Washington's War

Ernest Harsch and Tony Thomas

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Son of S-1 raises its ugly head

An interview with Frank Wilkinson

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—When Nixon was president, he wanted Congress to make legal all the illegal things that he and his Watergate conspirators were into.

All Congress had to do was pass Senate Bill S.1. The claimed purpose of this bill was to provide the first major recodification of the U.S. Criminal Code—eliminating archaic statutes, contradictory ones, etc.

Actually, however, S.1 would have drawn the noose a good deal tighter around the Bill of Rights.

Fortunately, opposition by civil liberties groups, unions, and others was so widespread that S.1 was finally buried in committee in the last session of Congress.

But the bill has been resurrected. The born-again S.1 has a new number, S.1437.

The parents of S.1 were John McClellan, a right-wing Democrat from Arkansas and Roman Hruska, a right-wing Republican from Nebraska. President Nixon was the godfather.

The parents of S.1437 are McClellan and Edward Kennedy, the liberal Democrat from Massachusetts. This time President Carter is the godfather.

Senator Kennedy argues that with the advent of S.1437, S.1 is "cleansed of its repressive features."

According to Frank Wilkinson, however, that's just not so—and Wilkinson knows something about it. As executive secretary of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation, he

played a key role in mobilizing public opposition to S.1. After studying S.1437 and consulting constitutional authorities, he's convinced that the new bill is basically just as dangerous to civil liberties as the old one.

Wilkinson's concern for civil liberties is neither recent nor academic.

Early victim

In the early 1950s, California witch-hunters virtually wrecked the Los Angeles Housing Authority in their drive to purge Wilkinson, an official of the agency.

Ousted from the agency, Wilkinson became a central figure in the fight to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee. In 1958, he and the late Carl Braden were sentenced to a year in prison for defying HUAC on First Amendment grounds.

In a recent interview at his office here, Wilkinson discussed S.1437, its sponsors, and some of its key supporters, among them President Carter and Attorney General Griffin Bell.

Some liberal publications have argued that S.1437 is an improvement over S.1 and, with some amendments, should be acceptable to civil libertarians. Wilkinson disagrees.

S.1, he said, "was designed to impose a Watergate-type straitjacket on this country. S.1437 retains too many of the old provisions to be acceptable." Wilkinson gave examples of some of its most repressive features.

One section, he said, would give dangerous new power to the FBI and

other federal agencies. It provides that any statement to a government agent deemed to be false would subject the citizen to federal prosecution.

"If an FBI agent calls on you," Wilkinson explained, "and you answer his questions—truthfully or untruthfully—it could become a matter of perjury. At a trial, it would be the FBI agent's word against yours."

Heavier 'conspiracy' laws

Another example: Conspiracy statutes, used so often in political frame-ups, would be broadened. Under the new bill, Wilkinson said, "a person who planned with others to picket a courthouse and then walked in the direction of the courthouse would be guilty of 'criminal intent,' even though he or she never reached the courthouse or never picketed there."

As this example shows, S.1437 would also make it illegal to picket outside a courthouse while a trial is going on. How's that for protecting the right to peaceful assembly!

A section on wartime offenses, Wilkinson said, would cover undeclared wars as well as declared ones.

"Inciting or aiding mutiny, insubordination, or desertion is sort of scary-sounding legal language," Wilkinson continued. "This language would extend to a forcibly written article or pamphlet opposing a war, or even simply to objecting to conditions on a military base."

Why is someone like Senator Kennedy, with a carefully cultivated liberal image, sponsoring such a bill?

"First of all," Wilkinson responded, "we have to begin realizing that none of the Kennedys—John, Robert, or Ted—have ever been any good on civil liberties. People have this image of them. But only recently we learned how much wiretapping John Kennedy was involved in, how much connivance he and the CIA were involved in on Cuba."

"Ted Kennedy is not one whit better. He's interested in power. Today he's number three person on the Senate Judiciary Committee. The top person is Eastland of Mississippi. He retires at the end of this term of Congress. McClellan is number two person, and he'll be retiring."

"The third person in line, if they follow seniority, is Ted Kennedy. By playing the role of tough guy on law and order, Kennedy is lining himself up for leadership of the Judiciary Committee, which would give him enormous power."

'Deluding people'

"It isn't just that he's introducing this bill," Wilkinson continued, "but to get it through, he's deluding people. He spoke in Chicago last April 3. The *Los Angeles Times* report said, 'Kennedy's speech used blunt language in criticizing liberals.'"

The *Times* quoted Kennedy as saying, "Well-intentioned people who claim crime can be controlled if the world would only abolish city slums and poverty and discrimination are the people who oppose recodification of our criminal code."

At the same time, Wilkinson said, Kennedy is "doing a real snow job." He cited a May 2 news conference attended by Kennedy, McClellan, and Attorney General Bell at which



FRANK WILKINSON

Kennedy boasted that the death penalty, which had been in S.1, is out of S.1437.

McClellan added a point. He said that it was true the death penalty is out of S.1437. But, he added, he and Kennedy have agreed that it will be introduced as separate legislation. The fact is, Wilkinson said, McClellan had already introduced a death-penalty bill five days earlier.

Or, he continued, take Kennedy's assertion that S.1437 eliminates the "official secrets" section, which drew so much fire as part of S.1. This section would have imposed stiff penalties on present or former government officials who released "classified" documents to the public.

Study S.1437, Wilkinson said, and you'll find that it leaves intact the legal grounds for the indictment of Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo in the Pentagon papers case.

"And more than that," Wilkinson emphasized, "they have resurrected and codified Richard Nixon's own Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950."

Revive SACB?

This would revive the virtually defunct Subversive Activities Control Board, a lethal weapon against the Bill of Rights during the McCarthyite witch-hunt years.

Wilkinson continued, "Let me give you another example of the hypocrisy and sham on the part of Kennedy."

Kennedy, he said, points with pride to the fact that sentencing provisions of S.1 have been modified. S.1 included a maximum prison term of thirty years. But you could begin parole after one-third your term—ten years.

The Kennedy bill drops the maximum sentence to twenty-five years.

But McClellan says that Kennedy agrees that a sentencing judge may insist a person serve nine-tenths of their term before being eligible for parole. "So, under the 'liberalized' Kennedy bill," Wilkinson commented, "you can't get out until after twenty-two and a half years."

"All the way through it's that way," Wilkinson continued. "But nobody's saying so, except here and there in the radical press."

Further, he added, this is just one of the repressive measures pending in Congress. Another, also sponsored by Kennedy and also pressed by the Carter administration, purports to limit government wiretapping abuses. Actually, Wilkinson explains, the proposed statute would make such tapping much easier.

And, he adds, for good measure there are Carter's proposals for "curbing" the abuses of intelligence agencies such as the CIA. What these would do, Wilkinson said, is simply make present illegal practices legal.

This is the same Carter, Wilkinson recalled, who during the election was saying "secrecy in government is cancerous."

"After the elections," Wilkinson observed, "this is what we're getting."



SEN. EDWARD KENNEDY

How can building-trades unions survive?

S.F. painters discuss dues increase, declining membership

By Nat Weinstein
and Roland Sheppard

This article was submitted to the "Voice," official publication of Painters Local 4 in San Francisco, by two rank-and-file members. It was edited and printed in such garbled form that it was incomprehensible. The authors have submitted it to the "Militant" for publication. We are happy to publish it for the information of all union members because it deals with a common problem in the union movement.

The membership of Local 4 is being asked to vote once again for a so-called "dues checkoff." In reality, this "dues checkoff" is a tax on every hour of wages earned. At our August 22 Local 4 membership meeting Business Agent Bill Daly, speaking in favor of the proposed fifteen-cent-per-hour "dues checkoff," pressed the writers of this letter to give their reasons for opposing this measure.

He was most concerned with knowing what our alternate solution was to the union's financial crisis since a steady decline in dues-paying membership is putting the union increasingly in the red. Moreover, he pointed out, we are confronted at the same time with a mounting attack on Local 4 and other building-trades unions.

The latest and most ominous development, he reported, is the appearance in San Francisco of the union-busting "two-gate" job site (more on this later) that has proven to be an effective weapon against construction unions throughout the United States and Canada.

We welcome brother Daly's recognition of the seriousness of these problems and his deep interest in hearing our viewpoint on them. We are complying with his and other brothers' request in this letter to the *Voice*.

Sidesteps real problem

Our opposition to the so-called "dues checkoff" is primarily because it sidesteps the real problem of how to deal with the ever-increasing loss of jobs and the resulting loss of dues-paying members. At best it seeks to treat the symptom (the loss of dues income) rather than the sickness (the loss of jobs and members to the inroads of technology, speedup, and to the encroachment of nonunion builders and contractors).

It would be a mistake for us to deal with the dues question apart from the underlying cause. With this in mind let's take a look at the threat posed by the so-called "two-gate" system.

It refers to a nonunion job site that has one entrance (or gate) for employees of nonunion contractors and another entrance for the employees of union contractors. (Nonunion builders are often forced to subcontract to union contractors who have access to supplies of skilled workers in certain crafts.)

Builders set up this two-gate arrangement to prevent picketing of a nonunion job site which could induce union men not to work there and thus pressure the builder to come to terms with the union. The presence of pickets and the well-known violence against them by cops have served as acceptable justification by the courts for union members to refuse to cross the picket lines, in the interest of their own safety, even if they have a legitimate contract with their own particular employer.

But with separate gates, picketing is restricted to the nonunion gate and construction unions could be sued in devastating amounts for violation of "no strike" clauses in their contracts if union members refused to report for work. This is how the "two-gate" setup is used to drastically reduce the unions' effectiveness.

In passing we should note that it is the *union*



Militant/Muhammad Oliver

contractor who must sue the union for violation of the contract and who can be counted on to do just that. This fact is an eloquent answer to those who argue that in disputes with the nonunion employers the union employer is *our* ally.

One obvious way to win back the basic right to picket is through legislative action. But even the very weak situs picketing bill that would have helped to reestablish this basic democratic right was scuttled by the Democratic majority in Congress in a typical double-cross.

But important as the fight for the right to freely picket the job site is, we should not lose sight of a more basic problem: Why has picketing of nonunion jobs become so ineffective? This is a turnabout! The real power of the union movement has traditionally been the ability to win over the unorganized worker to trade-unionism.

In the past, organized workers said to the unorganized workers: come join us, together we will fight for higher wages, shorter hours, and more humane working conditions. That has been the primary source of union power. It still is. Nobody is born with a union card!

Unionism starts from the premise of organizing the unorganized. That continues to be a key task of the labor movement.

Unfortunately, that is *not* official building-trades unions' policy now and has not been for a long time. It is in fact quite the opposite. Building-trades union officials are telling unorganized painters, carpenters, laborers, and other crafts: Get off "our" jobs and go get lost!

More specifically, official construction union strategy is to allow the nonunion contractor to stay on the job if he signs up with the union, but to tell his employees they cannot! Such a policy creates an ever larger reservoir of unorganized construction workers who have been made hostile to unionism. This policy has led to the present crisis and if persisted in will lead to the destruction of the unions themselves.

It seems obvious to us that the "two-gate" ploy is

the bosses' way of cashing in on the construction union officialdom's strategic blunder—to use the kindest term.

A dues increase is hardly a solution to the strategic problem of developing a program that can win over the unorganized construction workers. It is at best a temporary expedient to keep the union financially solvent while setting in motion a program to organize the unorganized, to halt and reverse the loss in membership.

But no such program has even been hinted at by Local 4 officials. Instead the "dues checkoff" is clearly designed as a long-term treatment of the symptom, not the disease. It represents a refusal to reverse the policy that caused the mortal illness of our union. It solves only the problem of meeting the payroll of the union staff for a few more years. It takes the pressure off the officials. The basic problems affecting the membership are made to appear less urgent!

Reverse the trend

What are the elements of a program that could reverse the trend of declining building-trades unions? To our minds, an indispensable first step to meet the immediate challenge of the "two-gate" job site would be to set up a working coalition of all construction unions. It should include rank-and-file members of the different crafts as well as officials. It should be open to any construction worker wanting to help organize the unorganized and police and enforce the existing contracts. It should be open to those employees of nonunion contractors who come over to the union and want to help organize their fellow workers in their shops.

No initiation fee should be required from such new union recruits. Drastic reduction if not abolition of all initiation fees!

A realistic job guarantee to such new recruits. Such a guarantee would start with something like elementary seniority rights for all employees of newly organized shops with perhaps highest seniority going to *those coming over to the union first*.

No real step toward job security can be taken without raising the banner of the shorter workweek—the traditional and soundest labor approach to a job guarantee.

An effective picketing strategy would have to be worked out. We can learn from our own labor history in America. The unions were built, the greatest strides made, on the principle of mass picketing. When mass picketing was alleged by the courts to be illegal—which was most if not all of the time—mass demonstrations were organized to protest this violation of elementary human rights. Those mass protests often took place at the job site!

Cops and other state agencies could not easily get away with violating these basic rights of workers. These democratic rights, guaranteed in the United States Constitution, are deeply treasured by the overwhelming majority of Americans who work for a living.

Defend all rights

This sympathetic support was forthcoming, however, only when the embattled union movement had worked toward earning the reputation of being champions of *all* human rights, and not merely their own! In the mid-nineteen-thirties, when the big labor battles were fought and won, this social factor was decisive, inhibiting the strikebreaking efforts of mayors, judges, cops, governors, presidents, and other such high officials.

Even though lots of things have changed since these great victories were won, we can do it again.

The biggest relevant change is the degree of government intervention into disputes between capital and labor. The maze of labor laws allegedly designed to regulate and mediate the conflicts between labor and capital is in reality used to blunt, deflect, and inhibit labor's defensive might while leaving the employers free to fire at will. Even when restrictions appear to be equally imposed on both sides, those on labor's side have sharp teeth for rigid enforcement while restrictions on capital are toothless.

When building-trades workers begin to fight back they will immediately have to confront the government, from cops and judges to mayors and legislators. The politicians, both Democrat and Republican, are on the side of the bosses. The fact is that in every test of strength between unions and bosses, *all* the power of the boss class is brought to bear. We must do the same. We must break with all capitalist politicians, Democrat and Republican alike, and build a political instrument for bringing our class into the battles on our side in every economic and political confrontation with the bosses.

In conclusion: This last thought, the need to build a mass labor party built on the unions, caps our thoughts on the elements of a program that can rebuild our unions and effectively enable us to fight back.

Teachers union wavers on support

Maintenance union strikes Phila. schools

BULLETIN

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 21—In an overwhelming rejection of the leadership's motion to honor the picket lines of school workers Local 1201, the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers became a strikebreaking local last night.

More than 10,000 members turned out for the union meeting, the biggest since the 1972-73 teachers' strike.

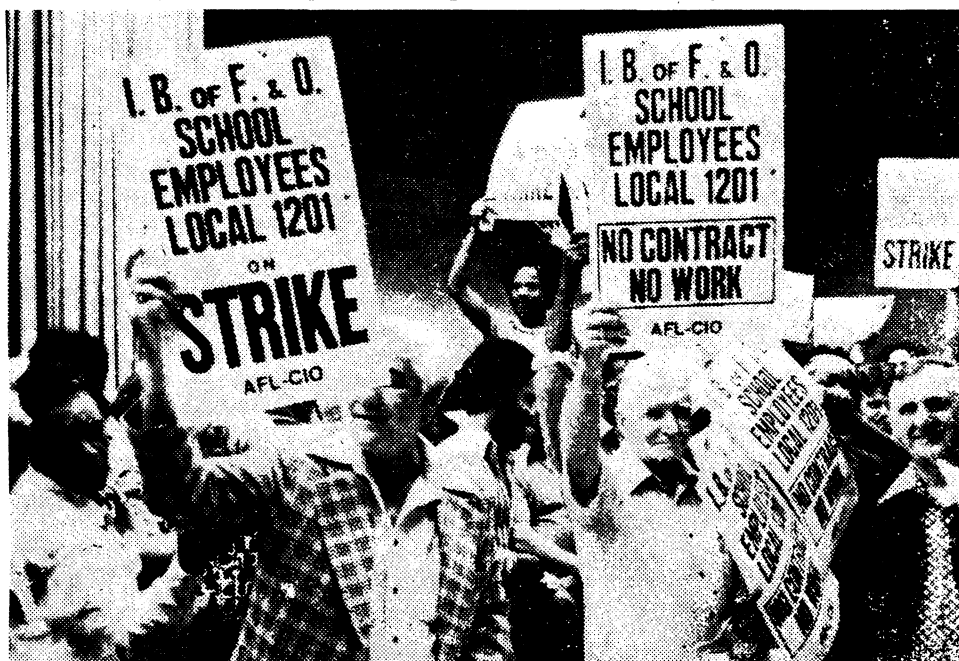
Leadership efforts to convince members to honor the picket lines were too little too late. Virtually no discussion from the floor took place as a vote was rapidly called to huge cheers. Votes to honor the picket lines were barely audible.

The following background article, by PFT member Ben Bailey, was filed before last night's meeting.

By Ben Bailey

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 17—The Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT) will meet September 20 and decide whether to honor the picket lines of Local 1201, International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers.

Local 1201 represents school bus drivers, custodians, mechanics, and other maintenance workers in the pub-



Union members gather their signs after voting to strike

lic school system. It has been on strike since September 12.

Three days into the strike, the union called for a shutdown of the school system. That evening, the AFL-CIO general labor council of Philadelphia unanimously agreed to honor Local 1201's picket lines.

But the PFT executive board has been reluctant to follow suit. On September 15, while giving verbal support to the strike, the leadership decided not to call the union members out.

Instead—in an unusual show of “democracy”—they moved to refer the issue to a membership meeting. In the meantime, PFT members are crossing picket lines of school department co-workers.

The scabbing by PFT officials expresses the intensity of the school budget crunch and the bankruptcy of the “business as usual” approach of the union leadership.

Earlier this year nearly 10,000 of the city's 27,000 school employees were

scheduled to be laid off. Last June many began to receive their pink slips.

At the last minute a consortium of Philadelphia banks provided an emergency \$50 million loan. The banks demanded draconian austerity as the ransom price.

The bailout restored the jobs of more than 2,000 fired teachers, but many education programs remain cut. And 3,000 laid-off school employees are not to be rehired.

Local 1201 was hit the hardest. Nearly half of its 5,000 members were fired. When schools opened last week, six had been rehired—the drivers of limousines for school board members.

Local 1201's workers are among the lowest-paid school employees, averaging \$8,000 a year. The union has a high concentration of Black workers.

The union is trying to get 75 percent of its membership rehired, the same proportion as that of the teachers. The board claims to have money to rehire no more than 1,000, nearly 800 less than the union's demand.

Throughout the fiscal crisis the PFT leadership has maintained a dead-end strategy of secret negotiations and public pleading with Democratic Party “friends” in the state capital.

This policy has done nothing to fight the deep cuts in public education this year. And the banks make clear that next year's budget-balancing act will mean \$35 million in additional cuts and layoffs. Similar yearly slashes are

Continued on page 30

Boston teachers' contract drops 1,000 jobs

By Bob Pearlman

BOSTON—Schools opened peacefully in the fourth year of court-ordered desegregation. But the Boston School Committee won a major victory in its campaign against desegregated schools when teachers ratified a contract September 6 that allows elimination of nearly 1,000 teacher and aide positions this year.

The failure of the Boston Teachers Union (BTU) to fight these layoffs

Bob Pearlman is a teacher and a member of the Boston Teachers Union.

allows the school committee to proceed with its already programmed overcrowding of every classroom in the city.

The union traded off jobs for a meager one-time, lump-sum salary award.

The contract allows for the layoff of all provisional teachers in the system. As a result of past discrimination, Black teachers are concentrated in this “provisional” category.

Despite a federal court order three years ago requiring stepped-up hiring of minority teachers, the percent of Black teachers in the system has only increased from 10 percent in 1974 to 13.5 percent today. Almost 50 percent of the students in the Boston school system are Black.

The union's failure to challenge this second-class system in the past and win job security for provisionals in the contract means the loss of 800 out of 5,000 teaching positions in the city.

Tim Wright of the BTU's Education Caucus accurately reflected the sentiment of many teachers at the ratification meeting when he explained:

“This is a contract that divides us—old teachers against young teachers, white against Black, high school against elementary teacher, teachers against aides, and especially parents

and students against teachers.”

The only person to speak for the contract was ex-BTU President John Doherty, now president of the Massachusetts Federation of Teachers. Doherty said that a strike would lose and that the union couldn't save provisional teachers.

Doherty received applause from the older teachers, unaffected by the present round of cuts, when he justified the sacrificial agreement by saying: “Let's take the contract, lick our wounds, and build the strongest possible political organization for November.”

Doherty's strategy parallels that of United Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker in New York City. Shanker capitulated to the Democratic politicians he helped elect and allowed the elimination of more than 20,000 school jobs without a fight.

Instead he advocated increased “political” activity. The most recent product of this strategy was UFT support and endorsement of Mayor Abraham Beame in the New York City primary. Beame led the drive for cuts in education and other social services.

Steve Glickel, a bilingual teacher, told the 2,500 teachers and aides at the ratification meeting that the union can mobilize support for teachers and education. “Parents will support us if we fight hard on class size,” he said.

Prodesegregation parents, concentrated in the Citywide Parents Advisory Council, have previously been powerful allies of the union in fighting to preserve strong class-size limits in the contract.

BTU President Henry Robinson countered that the union's strategy was to seek arbitration on the class-size issue. But coming after the school committee has already implemented its formula, which allows up to thirty-six students in each classroom, arbitration offers little chance of success.

Doherty's proposal to support more Democratic Party “friends of labor” in the school committee elections this November is not only a poor substitute

for a mass mobilization of students, teachers, aides, and parents, but is a dead end in its own right.

Not a single Democratic Party politician has offered a word of support to the teachers.

The only candidate to stand behind the union and teachers is Hattie McCutcheon of the Socialist Workers Party.

Socialist raps antibusing bill

By Reba Williams

BOSTON—The Massachusetts state legislature recently approved for a second time a constitutional amendment designed to thwart school desegregation and busing. The amendment reads, “No student shall be assigned to or denied admittance to a public school on the basis of race, color, national origin or creed.”

State Rep. Raymond Flynn (D-South Boston) sponsored the amendment. Flynn, an arch-opponent of busing, also sponsored the amendment in 1975. According to Massachusetts law, the amendment will now be placed on the November 1978 ballot for a referendum vote.

Even if the amendment is approved, busing will continue here because the school system is under federal court order to desegregate. Nevertheless, passage of the amendment will encourage racist opposition to desegregation.

Flynn, at the very least, had exactly this in mind. “This should have been the law,” he said, “when the *Brown v. the Topeka Board of Education* case came up.” *Brown* was the landmark 1954 Supreme Court decision that struck down segregated public education.

Hattie McCutcheon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Boston School Committee, assailed the legis-



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

HATTIE MCCUTCHEON

lature's action. “This amendment,” she said, “is based on the emotions of a backward element in this city that is bent on denying Black people their rights.”

“The majority of people in this city and around the country support school desegregation but are confused on how to implement it. The solution is simple—busing.”

The legislature's action, McCutcheon said, points to the need for continued defense of school desegregation. “We have to organize to fight for our interests ourselves,” she said, “and not depend on Democrats or Republicans to do it for us.”

Houston steelworkers strike Hughes Tool Co.

By Stu Singer

HOUSTON—Around 8 p.m. on Sunday, September 18, picket lines went up at every gate of the big Hughes Tool Company plant here.

The strike was called by United Steelworkers of America Local 1742 after a meeting that morning of 1,700 union members voted overwhelmingly to reject the latest contract offer from the company.

More than 3,000 workers are covered in the bargaining agreement. The 1,700 at the meeting represent a large percentage of the entire Local 1742 membership. Texas "right to work" laws allow workers covered under the contract to refuse to join the union.

About 125 members of the pipefitters' and electricians' unions in the plant also voted to strike.

The Local 1742 strike is officially sanctioned by USWA International President Lloyd McBride.

The strike was authorized by the membership the previous Sunday, September 11, but that meeting also voted to extend the contract deadline by one week.

During the week the union called in federal mediator E.B. Kincaid to participate in negotiations.

The company improved its offer very slightly during the extra week of talks. It also backed off on its proposal to do away with the union dues checkoff.

The walkout has been in preparation for months. Some workers on the picket lines reported that they have been saving money since January in anticipation of a strike.

Several workers favorably contrasted the preparation of the union this year to the situation three years ago, when the previous contract expired. The union struck then for one week, but many workers felt that strike was disorganized and accomplished nothing.

Just before the current strike began, the company announced it was closing the plant for two weeks, until October 3, for an "inventory." The employee gates have been kept locked by the company as the pickets stand outside.

Interviews with workers on the picket line indicate their main concern now is higher wages. Many mentioned the figure of a two-dollar-an-hour increase over three years.

According to union members, at the meetings leading up to the strike local officials have pointed to the basic steel contract as a model. Wages at Hughes, which average \$5.50 to \$6.00, are said to be about \$1.75 an hour less than in basic steel.

The last company offer, which the union rejected, was for a seventy-cent-an-hour raise for the highest labor grades and slightly less for lower-paid workers, plus a cost-of-living allowance that the company estimated would increase hourly wages by two dollars over the three years.

Leaders of the USWA and the International Association of Machinists are making a joint effort to establish an oil-tool conference by 1980 to represent about 16,000 oil-tool workers.

The steel union leadership wants to model this conference after basic steel. In discussion with this reporter a few weeks ago, Local 1742 President W.R. Morris and Vice-president B. Lum both strongly defended the Experimental Negotiating Agreement in basic steel.

The ENA does away with the right to strike over contract issues. (It supposedly allows local strikes over local issues. But in the current iron ore workers' strike—the first ever under the ENA—the companies have sought to use the ENA to brand the walkout as illegal.) The ENA also abolishes the right of members to vote on contracts.

According to other union members, neither of these aspects of the basic steel agreement has been stressed at Local 1742 meetings. A rosy picture of life under the basic steel contract has been presented to Hughes workers.

A few workers on the picket line pointed out that with the controversy centered on wages, the company seems to have convinced the union negotiators to give up some important questions of working conditions, such as forced overtime.

Steel notes...

YOUNGSTOWN AXES 5,000: It's the heaviest blow yet in the current round of layoffs and production cutbacks by the big steel corporations. Youngstown Sheet & Tube announced September 19 that it will shut down most operations at its Campbell Works in Youngstown, Ohio. Five thousand steelworkers will lose their jobs.

The announcement came only days after a federal appeals court ruled that Campbell Works and seven other steel plants in the Mahoning River Valley could no longer be exempted from federal clean-water standards. When they won the exemption last year, the steel companies said the plants weren't profitable enough to justify spending \$140 million to clean them up. But a Youngstown official said the decision on layoffs "would have been the same" regardless of the pollution ruling.

It was just three years ago that local union officials organized steelworkers to picket Environmental Protection Agency hearings on the Mahoning Valley plants with signs such as, "We want jobs, not fish." Steelworkers District 26 Director Frank Leseganich demanded, "What the hell good is a clean river if the people have no place to earn a dollar?"

So the company got to profit from polluting the Mahoning for three more years. And maybe it's time somebody asked Frank Leseganich: What the hell good does it do steelworkers to support the profit schemes of the companies? Does it save jobs? Do the corporations "reward" their loyal employees? Or is it just a cruel deception that disarms the union and blocks a real fight against layoffs?

RACISTS FILE SUIT AGAINST CONSENT DECREE: "We're trying to help the white man forward," say a group of white, male workers at Armco Steel's Ashland, Kentucky, plant. They have filed suit against the company and the union in federal court to overturn the 1974 consent decree in steel, according to a report in the September 19 *Wall Street Journal*.

The consent decree was supposed to end discrimination in the steel industry, opening up some of the higher-paid jobs to women and minorities. Black and women steelworkers and civil rights groups have criticized the decree as inadequate. It leaves many loopholes for continued



Racist suit against consent decree claims 'unqualified' Black and women steelworkers are taking jobs away from white men.

discrimination. But racist and sexist forces within the industry and the union have never reconciled themselves to the decree.

The Ashland group calls itself American Male Equality Now, or AMEN. According to the *Wall Street Journal* report, AMEN claims that white males have suffered "reverse discrimination" under the consent decree and are being "passed over for jobs in favor of less qualified women and members of minority groups." The racists say they were encouraged to file suit by the U.S. Supreme Court's June decision upholding seniority systems that perpetuate discrimination.

USWA BOARD AFFIRMS SUPPORT: After that Supreme Court ruling, the USWA International Executive Board issued a statement affirming that "the Consent Decree remains valid and effective." The statement, reported in the July issue of *Steel Labor*, declared that recent court decisions "do not affect the long-standing policy of broad seniority or the valid reasons underlying that policy."

BUT ATTACK IS SERIOUS: The potential seriousness of this attack should not be disregarded, though, simply because the union officialdom still upholds the consent decree. The steel companies are campaigning to blame layoffs and plant closings on imports, environmental controls, and "unfair" taxes on corporate profits. Dividing and weakening the union by making Blacks and women the scapegoats for layoffs fits right into their plan. And—judging from its consistent opposition to demands by Black and women steelworkers for stronger affirmative-action programs—the McBride leadership cannot be relied upon to aggressively defend the rights of union members from this attack.

With affirmative action under fire across the country, an educational campaign is sorely needed within the union to explain the issues, defend the consent decree from attempts to overturn it, and strengthen its provisions to provide truly equal job opportunities for minorities and women.

—Andy Rose

Socialists campaign at plant: free speech rights defended

HOUSTON—Diane Sarge, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Houston, works at Hughes Tool and is a shop steward in United Steelworkers Local 1742.

Sarge has been on the picket line at Hughes along with campaign supporters in the local.

On September 16, before the strike began, Sarge and a number of her supporters distributed campaign literature and sold *Militants* at one of the plant gates.

This distribution came less than a week after Local 1742 President W.R. Morris and seven other union members attacked supporters of Sarge's campaign outside the September 11 union meeting.

The socialists were told not to distribute literature again outside union meetings or at the plant gates.

This attack on democratic rights was immediately and vigorously protested by Sarge's campaign and by other defenders of free speech both inside and outside the union.

Protests were sent to Morris and to District 37 USWA officials by American Civil Liberties Union attorney Michael Maness, mayoral candidate

Ovide Duncantell, the Rev. Ray Martin, former school board member Gertrude Barnstone, and Fabian Greenwell, president of Local 4-16000 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union.

There were no incidents at the September 16 campaign leafletting. The event was covered on radio and television. A large article also appeared in the *Houston Chronicle*.

Probably as a result of the publicity, several political groups distributed literature without harassment at the September 18 union meeting.

A special leaflet from the socialist campaign—"Defend political rights, an appeal to members of local 1742 from Diane Sarge"—was distributed at the Hughes gate September 16. In it Sarge pointed out that restrictions on free speech harm the union and make it "look weak and undemocratic."

"Especially when we are involved in contract talks with the company," Sarge said, "we must appear strong. The union leaders cannot act as if they are scared of union members hearing all points of view. This is the kind of behavior you would expect from the company."

—S.S.

...companies forced to talk in Iron Range strike

Continued from back page

and many more.

One key demand is for an incentive-pay plan to bring iron ore workers' wages up to the level in the steel mills. The companies have singled out this demand as "economic" rather than local—ignoring the fact that the incentive plans in basic steel are all negotiated locally.

Results of negotiations so far are said to be uneven. While some locals feel that meaningful discussion of issues may take place soon, others found their employers were still stalling.

The president of one local on the Mesabi Iron Range said he had prepared for three days of talks—but only negotiated for twenty minutes. That company insisted no other questions could be discussed unless the union dropped the incentive-pay demand.

Meanwhile, the companies are pressing ahead with a suit demanding \$1 million a day in damages from the union for alleged violation of the no-strike ENA. A number of local union officers have been subpoenaed to give pretrial depositions in the suit.

Another company weapon is the threat to stop advancing medical insurance payments for the strikers and their families. The corporations tried to do so at the end of August but were stopped by a temporary injunction from U.S. District Judge Miles Lord.

On September 15, however, the Eighth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ordered the insurance dispute sent to binding arbitration. The three-judge panel refused a company motion to cut off the insurance pending the arbitrator's decision.

The insurance agreement between the companies and the union specifies that insurance premiums—which average \$100 a month—will be advanced by

the company during a strike, to be repaid later by the workers. To justify violating this agreement, the companies fell back on their claim of an "illegal" strike. Union lawyers have demonstrated that the companies never before cut off payments, even in the case of wildcat strikes.

The arbitration case will be heard by Sylvester Garrett in Pittsburgh. The appeals court ordered that it be handled "promptly."

Both sides see the outcome of the insurance fight as crucial to the workers' ability to hold out in a long strike.

Meanwhile, the USWA International Executive Board voted at its September meeting to raise weekly strike benefits from twenty dollars to thirty dollars.

The increase, while welcome, was less than many strikers had hoped for. They are aware that the union's \$95 million strike fund, to which they have contributed over the years, could easily pay a more generous benefit even in an extended strike.

Strike activists here had also hoped that the International Executive Board would issue an appeal to all steel locals to support the walkout. No such appeal was reported.

Leaders of the striking locals have made it clear they welcome messages of support and financial contributions. Donations can be sent to District 33 Strike and Defense Fund, United Steelworkers of America, 334 West Superior, Duluth, Minnesota 55802.

Whatever gains the strikers have scored so far are due to their own inspiring militancy and persistence. To bring the steel giants to heel the broadest possible support from the entire labor movement will be necessary.



Militant/Andy Rose

These strikers at Hibbing Taconite are ready to picket through the winter.

Suit against coal company dismissed

Scotia widows find no justice in Ky. court

By Nancy Cole

If American Justice were really blind, the treasury of the Blue Diamond Coal Company would be minus \$60 million by the end of the year. And fifteen widows of miners killed by Blue Diamond's greed would have scored a victory for a change.

But in the coalfields of Kentucky, Justice has always had eyes only for the coal operators. And so Blue Diamond, aided by a pack of the "finest" lawyers three states could offer, was handed the victory instead.

On September 12, U.S. District Court Judge H. David Hermansdorfer dismissed the widows' \$60 million suit against Blue Diamond after five days in court. Attorneys for the fifteen women said they will appeal.

The case dates back to March 9, 1976, when an explosion at the Scotia mine in Oven Fork, Kentucky, killed fifteen miners. Two days later, eight miners and three federal inspectors met the same fate while inspecting the scene of the first blast.

Miners and most others blamed Blue Diamond's flouting of safety laws, which allowed methane gas to accumulate in the mine.

But Blue Diamond and other Kentucky industries had prepared for just such situations by pushing through legislation some years before exempting companies from damage suits if the companies paid into the state's workmen's compensation fund.

In 1960, however, Blue Diamond had pulled a fast one that left the company at least dangling on a hook as far as the fifteen widows are concerned. In order to get in on some tax breaks, but probably in the main to keep the United Mine Workers of America out of the Scotia mine, Blue Diamond set up a separate Scotia Coal Company to run the mine.

Thereafter, the widows' suit charges, Blue Diamond acted as a sales agent for the coal Scotia mined. And Scotia paid Blue Diamond for advice on management, mine safety, and ventilation.

Because Blue Diamond was not the employer of the miners killed, it can't



SCOTIA—MARCH 1976

United Mine Workers Journal/Earl Dotter

claim immunity from liability lawsuits. But because it did advise on safety and ventilation, it can be held responsible for the deadly explosion.

Chief attorney for Blue Diamond is Bert Combs, former governor of Kentucky and once a judge for the U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals.

That happens to be the court that Judge Hermansdorfer's cases are appealed to.

Hermansdorfer referred to the company lawyer throughout the five-day trial as "Judge Combs."

Representing the widows was Washington attorney Gerald Stern. Several years ago Stern helped win a \$13.5 million settlement for the victims of the coal-industry-caused disaster at Buffalo Creek, West Virginia.

Part of the evidence introduced to show Blue Diamond and Scotia were separate corporations was an October 1960 confidential memorandum by Blue Diamond President Gordon Bonnyman. "We [Blue Diamond] will want to operate this property [Scotia] under a different corporation because of our

labor contract with the UMW," Bonnyman wrote.

At that time—although it is no longer the case—Blue Diamond's Leatherwood mine was organized by the UMWA. The company's contract with the union required Blue Diamond to allow the UMWA to organize any new mines opened.

Blue Diamond is a notorious "keep the union out at any cost" operation. After the UMWA finally won a union representation election at Scotia in 1965, the company forced miners out on a bitter strike that broke the union. At the time of the explosions, the miners were "represented" by a company union that did nothing to enforce safety laws.

Judge Hermansdorfer's decision in this case must have come as little surprise to those who have followed the role of the courts in coal-mining disputes.

"I think the only reason Hermansdorfer kept the trial going so long was he didn't want the bad publicity," noted Jennifer Boggs, one of the widow

plaintiffs.

The judge went to the trouble of selecting a jury, but then made the decision himself to dismiss the case. He made no effort to explain his ruling, saying that he could find no precedent for such a case and promising a written decision later.

After court recessed, Hermansdorfer said that his order to suppress a federal report on the Scotia disaster still stands.

The Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration was about to issue its findings on the explosions earlier this month when Blue Diamond asked Hermansdorfer to keep the report under wraps. Because three MESA inspectors were killed in the second explosion, the coal company said, the report could not be impartial and might prejudice Blue Diamond's defense!

Hermansdorfer claims to be waiting for more information from MESA before he will consider lifting his ban.

Following the judge's decision, the Louisville *Courier-Journal* reported, "Combs said, 'All of us have the deepest sympathy for the widows,' but he said those concerned about the welfare of all working people believe that workmen's compensation 'is better than the old system of coming into a court of law.'"

Blue Diamond's concern for the "welfare" of working people is on display in another small mining community, in Stearns, Kentucky. There 160 miners have been on strike against Blue Diamond for fourteen months to win a UMWA contract.

The Stearns miners know that the only thing you can depend on Blue Diamond for is to make profits, regardless of what it means for the health and safety of miners.

As one of the Scotia widows, Geraldine McKnight King, wrote the Stearns Women's Club last May: "I firmly believe that had the men at Scotia been represented by a union, Scotia would never have been allowed to carelessly kill so many good men and leave a scar on their families that can never be erased."

Sketches by Copain

A sampling of sketches by Copain. Published in 1974 to help celebrate the tenth anniversary of *Intercontinental Press*.

The reproductions, of various sizes, include portraits of Hugo Blanco, Malcolm X, Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, James P. Cannon, Che Guevara, Leon Trotsky, and others, some of them suitable for framing.

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Calendar

ALBANY, N.Y.

SOCIALISM & INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM. Speaker: Kevin Kellogg, SWP candidate for mayor. Wed., Sept. 28, 8 p.m. SUNYA Campus Lecture Center 13. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (518) 463-0072.

GRAND OPENING. Socialist Campaign Headquarters, Militant Bookstore. Sat., Oct. 1. All-day sale. Speaker at 7:30 p.m.: Kevin Kellogg, SWP candidate for mayor. Wine & cheese. 103 Central Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (518) 463-0072.

CHAPEL HILL, N.C.

RACISM IN EDUCATION. Speakers: Doug Clark, YSA; representative of Black Student Movement. Thurs., Sept. 29, 7:30 p.m. UNC Student Union, Rm. 217. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (919) 967-5425.

CINCINNATI

FILM ON LABOR HISTORY: 'THE HERITAGE,' and WHY LABOR NEEDS ITS OWN PARTY. Speaker: Rick Mitts, SWP. Fri., Sept. 30, 8 p.m. 970 E. McMillan. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

CLEVELAND

CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Alyson Kennedy, SWP candidate for mayor; others. Sat., Oct. 1, 6:30 p.m., reception; 7:30 p.m., rally. 2300 Payne. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP 1977 Campaign Committee. For more information call (216) 861-4166.

DALLAS

THE FRAME-UP OF OLIVER LEE DAVIS. Speaker: Norma Humphrey, mother of Davis. Fri., Sept. 30, 8 p.m. 2215 Cedar Crest. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (214) 943-6684.

INDIANAPOLIS

GRAND OPENING OF MILITANT BOOKSTORE & EUGENE V. DEBS HALL. Speakers: Lupe Bustos Watt, SWP; Andrew Pulley, SWP National Committee. Sat., Oct. 1, 2 p.m.: "Struggles of the Oppressed Nationalities—A Socialist View." Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (317) 925-2616.

GRAND OPENING RALLY. Speakers: Ned Bush, executive vice-president, Eugene V. Debs Foundation; Jean Tussey, editor, *Eugene V. Debs Speaks*; Jimmy Yates & Anne Riley Owens, SWP. Sat., Oct. 1, 7:30 p.m. 4163 N. College. Donation: \$2. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (317) 925-2616.

LOS ANGELES

SHISH KEBAB DINNER. Sun., Sept. 25, 2 p.m., cocktails; 4-6 p.m., dinner. 1321 Palms Blvd., Venice. Donation: \$5. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (213) 482-1341.

LOS ANGELES: CRENSHAW

WHY SOCIALISTS FAVOR BUSING. Speaker: Sam Manuel, SWP National Committee. Fri., Sept. 30, 8 p.m. 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

MILWAUKEE

STEELWORKERS' STRIKE ON MESABI IRON RANGE: AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT. Speaker: Bob Schwarz, SWP. Fri., Sept. 30, 8 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 442-8170.

RALEIGH, N.C.

SOCIALISM & DEMOCRACY. Speaker: Gary Sage, SWP. Wed., Sept. 28, 7:30 p.m. NCSU Student Union, Green Room. Ausp: Militant Forum and YSA. For more information call (919) 834-4293.

ST. PAUL

THE POLITICS OF JAZZ: A RADICAL ANALYSIS. Speaker: August Nimtz, professor of political science and Afro-American studies, Univ. of Minnesota, and member of SWP. Fri., Sept. 30, 8 p.m. 176 Western Ave. N (corner of Selby). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

ST. LOUIS

NO MORE MIAMIS: STRATEGY FOR GAY LIBERATION TODAY. A panel discussion. Fri., Sept. 30, 8 p.m. 6223 Delmar. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West End Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

THE NEW THEFT OF THE PANAMA CANAL. Speaker: Pat Hayes, SWP. Fri., Sept. 30, 8 p.m. 4875 Natural Bridge St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 381-0044.

SAN ANTONIO

WHICH WAY FOR THE CHICANO MOVEMENT? Speaker: Peter Camejo, SWP 1976 presidential candidate. Fri., Sept. 30, 8 p.m. 1317 Castrovilla Rd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (512) 432-7625.

New York

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY

Sat. October 8, 7:30 p.m.
Hear: Catarino Garza, candidate for mayor

Earl Hall, Columbia University
Broadway & 118th St.

Ausp: New York Socialist Workers 1977 Campaign Committee; Roger Rudenstein, treasurer

... 'Bakke'

Continued from page 6

submitted in support of *Bakke* by the right-wing Young Americans for Freedom.

The committee has established reach-out committees to involve the oppressed nationalities, women, and labor in the protest. More than fifty local endorsers have been gathered by the reach-out committees.

Los Angeles—The Coalition to Protest the Bakke Decision is organizing October 3 and 8 protests.

The coalition includes Balsa, National Lawyers Guild, MEChA Central in Los Angeles, Black Student Alliance at UCLA, Union of Democratic Filipinos, SCAR, Young Socialist Alliance, and Pasadena Action Union.

The coalition plans to hold a march and rally October 8. The demonstration will assemble at 10:00 a.m. at the Pico-Union Community Park and march to McArthur Park for a rally.

The Los Angeles Student Coalition Against Racism is organizing a noon teach-in at UCLA September 29 in Ackerman Union, Room 3517.

The "Racism in Education" teach-in will discuss the *Bakke* case, bilingual education, and school desegregation in Los Angeles.

A federal judge is scheduled to hear arguments on the Los Angeles school desegregation plans around the same time the U.S. Supreme Court takes up the *Bakke* case.

Speakers at the teach-in include L.A. school board member Dianne Watson; Harold Hart-Nebig, NAACP attorney in the Los Angeles school desegregation suit; Marvin Schachter, assistant director of the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union; Laura Garza, Student Coalition Against Racism; and others.

The Coalition to Protest the Bakke Decision is also holding a noon picket line at the federal building in Los Angeles October 3.

At two recent women's liberation conferences, feminists joined in denouncing the *Bakke* decision.

The September 16-18 New York State

conference of the National Organization for Women voted to actively support all *Bakke* protests.

Former NOW president Karen DeCrow captured the spirit of activists when she told the 200 women present, "We must rely on our own militancy" to win this case.

The recent national convention of the National Women's Political Caucus also passed a resolution condemning the *Bakke* ruling.

Protests are also planned in many other cities.

For further information on actions in your city contact: **National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision**, Post Office Box 3026 South Berkeley Station, Berkeley, California 94703. Phone: (415) 549-3297;

D.C. chapter, National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision, c/o B. Lightfoot, Post Office Box 1285, Administration Building, Howard University, Washington, D.C. 20059. Phone: (202) 636-6720 or (202) 387-4956;

or, **National Student Coalition Against Racism**, 220 Fifth Avenue, Room 808, New York, New York 10001. Phone: (212) 686-7020.

...Denver

Continued from page 7

until a campus employee showed up to close the building. In general, the audience was indignant at the attack on members of NOW and dissatisfied with the diversion from the real issues the meeting was called to discuss.

Joan Paltrineri, a co-chairperson of East Metro NOW, told the *Militant* after the meeting, "We have an important action planned—the September 24 picket against Representative Hyde. Hopefully, neither the efforts of the press to divide us, nor disagreements we may have among ourselves on other issues, will hinder women from building a strong, united protest that day."

"We in the East Metro chapter want to work with *all* members of NOW and

with everyone who believes poor women have a right to choose. This should be the overriding concern of feminists until that enemy of women, Mr. Hyde, sets foot in Denver."

...economy

Continued from page 14

Greenspan spells out the capitalists' desired program: "The source of the problem is the ever-expanding number of what can be called 'fiscal constituencies', ie, groups of individuals receiving payments in cash or in kind on a continuing basis under a government programme. In the United States we now have tens of millions of people receiving social security, veterans' benefits, farm subsidies, public assistance, etc, and the list is growing."

Slash federal spending. Cut back job programs. Increase the attacks on workers' rights and living standards.

This is the program that President Carter inherited from the Nixon-Ford administrations and it is the program Carter is carrying out despite all his campaign promises.

Carter is stepping up the attack on Black and women's rights. He has abandoned all the job programs he promised in his campaign.

But a new point must be noted about the lag in capital spending: Even with the 1974-75 depression, the New York City financial crisis and the deepening crises in other cities, the high and increasing unemployment rates of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and young people, the profit crisis—so far as the capitalist rulers of this country are concerned—remains. They plan more intense and more drastic attacks.

...strategy

Continued from page 19

list for discussion at a conference of the Black movement.

An independent Black party, Des Verney said, "would be a powerful instrument in the hands of the Black community. It would be a weapon to

help win victories in our struggle against all forms of oppression.

"It would fight for the allegiance of the Black community against the Democrats and Republicans in elections. Then the Black community, including the *Amsterdam News*, would have a choice in the elections. It wouldn't be faced with *choosing* between one group of racists or another. The Black community would have its own party and candidates that *it controls*, just like the rich have their own parties and candidates that *they control*."

"An independent Black party," Des Verney said, "would also serve as an example to the labor movement to cut its ties with the Democrats and Republicans and launch a labor party."

Des Verney concluded, "The Socialist Workers Party is ready to help organize the conference called for by the *Amsterdam News*. We will do whatever we can to help establish a Black political movement that is truly independent of the Democratic and Republican parties and fights in the interests of the Black community."

...PFT

Continued from page 27

projected over the following four years.

The \$50 million a year in tax-free interest payments on bonds and insurance to the banks and wealthy bondholders could supply enough funds to avoid any layoffs and cutbacks. That would require putting public education ahead of private profits for the rich.

Looming large in the crisis are the PFT's upcoming contract negotiations with the board of education. The union's contract expires next fall. The board is already embarked on a hard-nosed campaign against any wage increase and for more cutbacks and layoffs.

In a real sense, the first "negotiating" test of the PFT is at hand. Anything less than militant solidarity with our brothers and sisters in Local 1201 will only encourage the antiunion offensive of the school board and the banks.

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ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 314 E. Taylor, Phoenix, Ariz. 85004. Tel: (602) 255-0450.

Tucson: YSA, SUPO 20965, Tuscon, Ariz. 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, Granma Bookstore, 3264 Adeline St., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156.

East Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., East Los Angeles, Calif. 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347.

Long Beach: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 3322 Anaheim St., Long Beach, Calif. 90804. Tel: (213) 597-0965.

Los Angeles, Crenshaw District: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 2167 W. Washington Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196.

Los Angeles: City-wide SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404, Los Angeles, Calif. 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820.

Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1053 15th St., San Diego, Calif. 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630.

San Fernando Valley: SWP, 10510 Haddon St., Pacoima, Calif. 91331. Tel: (213) 899-5811.

San Francisco: City-wide SWP, YSA, 3004 16th St., San Francisco, Calif. 94111. Tel: (415) 626-6288.

San Francisco, Mission District: SWP, Socialist Bookstore, Liberia Socialista, 3284 23rd St., San Francisco, Calif. 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992.

San Francisco, Western Addition: SWP, 2320 Pine St., San Francisco, Calif. 94115. Tel: (415) 567-1811.

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THE MILITANT

IRON RANGE STRIKE

Union solidarity forces companies to negotiate



SHUT DOWN TIGHT: Butler Taconite outside Nashwauk, Minnesota

Militant/Andy Rose

By Bob Schwarz

VIRGINIA, Minn.—The determination and solidarity of 18,000 iron ore strikers have forced the steel companies back to the bargaining table and may soon force them to deal seriously with the 1,250 local issues that prompted the strike.

"There's that little bit of motion that we need to see," said one union source close to the negotiations.

Talks began in mid-September for the first time since United Steelworkers of America locals in Minnesota and northern Michigan walked out August 1. The iron ore mines and processing plants that account for 60 percent of this country's iron ore production have been shut down tight ever since.

The strikers plan to keep it that way. Bob Bratulich, a picket captain at U.S. Steel's Minntac plant, told me, "If you go back for nothing, you never should have gone out in the first place. We'll be here until we get what we want."

The companies have boasted in the news media that they have a several-month supply of taconite pellets (processed iron ore) on hand and are well prepared to take a lengthy strike.

Union leaders report, however, that the last of three million tons of taconite on the docks at Duluth, Minnesota, and Superior, Wisconsin, has now been shipped out. These sources speculate that the companies may begin to face serious trouble

with ore supplies if the strike goes much longer.

Until now the steel companies had refused to negotiate, claiming the strike is "illegal" under the union's Experimental Negotiating Agreement. The ENA prohibits a national steel strike but supposedly allows local strikes over local issues.

The steel corporations have tried to dismiss many of the steelworkers' key demands as not "legitimate" local issues.

At stake are such issues as reduction of dangerous levels of taconite dust, better ventilation, correction of safety hazards, protective clothing, drinking water, seniority agreements, vacation scheduling,

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Coalfield clinics fight for survival

By Nancy Cole

CABIN CREEK, W. Va.—There's no problem picking out the Cabin Creek Health Association Clinic. It's a new wood and glass structure, the only one of its kind in this small coal-mining community.

The clinic first opened its doors in April 1976. A year-and-a-half later, its survival is in question.

Up until July of this year, this clinic and others like it throughout the coalfields depended on retainer payments from the United Mine Workers health

INSIDE: Scotia widows' suit against killer coal company dismissed. Page 29.

and retirement fund.

In July the UMWA fund—presided over by three trustees, one of whom represents the coal operators—cut off the clinics' subsidy payments. At the same time, the clinics' primary users, coal miners and their families, also had their medical benefits curtailed. They now have to pay 40 percent of their clinic and doctor bills up to \$500 a year. The fund used to pay the whole bill.

The cuts sparked wildcat strikes that involved up to 85,000 miners and ran ten weeks until the UMWA international leadership pledged to work toward restoring the benefits by the end of October.

The medical cuts have meant a 30 percent drop in UMWA fund patients at the Cabin Creek facility, clinic administrator William Dodd told the *Militant* in a recent interview. Prior to July, the clinic saw about seventy patients a day. "Now it's erratic," Dodd says, "down as low as thirty-five a day."

The clinic here was set up at the initiative of the UMWA. Some 60 to 70 percent of its patients have always been UMWA members and their families.

In the days before the clinic, Dodd recalls, "miners would get hurt on the job, and they'd have to go twenty-five miles—even as much as forty miles—to Charleston to find a doctor."

When miners complained to UMWA President Arnold Miller in 1974, he sent clinic organizers to Cabin Creek. Through fund-raising events, some money from revenue sharing, and loans—including \$35,000 in individual bank loans by miners and employees of the UMWA—the clinic was built.

Its board of directors is made up of miners, miners' spouses, and community people.

Dodd came on as administrator in March 1975. Before that he was a bricklayer. At one time he was president of the Kanawha Valley Labor Council. But then in 1972 he fell into disfavor with AFL-CIO top George Meany over Dodd's support of Demo-



Militant/Nancy Cole

William Dodd, Cabin Creek health clinic director.

crat George McGovern in the presidential race. That cut his stint as labor official short.

Dodd is determined the clinic is going to stay open by raising funds from other sources. "Some clinics are in worse shape than we are. I wouldn't be at all surprised if some have to close," he says.

The Cabin Creek clinic's policy is to accept all patients whether they can pay the 40 percent of their bill or not.

"The day we have to refuse sick patients is the day we close the doors," observes Dodd.

Still, not all the fund patients know this. And even some who do know won't come in without the money. "They say 'I don't want to run up a bill,' or they just don't show up for appointments."

"There's no doubt that there are people who should be coming in who are not. We have cases where people should have been in here two weeks ago, but waited until they were really sick."

The clinic has about ten black-lung patients. Since the cuts, two or three have stopped coming in for treatment. "It's criminal," Dodd says, "for a guy that sold his lungs to those damn coal operators, then they cut his medical benefits."

Not all the coalfield clinics have the "open door" policy, notes Dodd. "Some of them have boards made up of bankers and businessmen. They collect the 40 percent on the way in and charge for any lab work on the way out."

Dodd thinks reports about more planned cuts in the miners' medical benefits ring true. And he is certain that more cuts will mean more wildcat strikes, because the miner's health card is, as miner after miner has explained, "all we've got."

Of threatened pension cuts, Dodd says, "If they cut those old men's checks there for sure won't be any coal mined in these mountains."